HE GAIKWADS OF BARODA

ENGLISH DOCUMENTS

PILAJI AND DAMAJI GAIKWADS

(1720–1768)

EDITED BY

J. H. GENSE, S. J., Ph.D.
D. R. BANAJI, M.A., LL.B.

BOMBAY:
D. B. TARAPOREVALA SONS & CO.
" Treasure House of Books "
Hornby Road, Fort.

Printed at
VAKIL & SONS PRESS
By
K. R. SUDDER
18, Narandas Building, Ballard Estate, Bombay
and Published by
JAL H. D. TARAPOREVALA,
for
D. B. TARAPOREVALA SONS, & Co.
Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.

FOREWORD

Research work in the field of history has a fascination of its own and is liable to cast a spell on one that goes in for it, setting him dreaming, day-dreaming, with wide-open eyes staring at objects unseen. What if the written page, grown yellow with the passing years, could speak of the days gone by when the scribe bent over it and rescued from oblivion the news that was then of paramount interest to the members of a Council, to the citizens of a town, or to the men and women of a great kingdom who had embarked on a gigantic scheme of empire-building! Every page tells its own story: commercial, judicial or warlike; political, private or public; joyful, unselfish or sad; a story of life and often, too, alas! of death; a story of contests waged, of battles lost and won; a story of men who lived in other days, but were men just as we are, men swayed by petty passions and interested motives, vaulting ambitions and love of family and race. All this and much more is what the research worker in the field of history sees in kaleidoscopic vision as he pores over the dust-covered folios of the handwritten annals of the past.

There is such a thing as the language of stones; and the history of many a country may be read in the monuments which its former inhabitants erected in the sweat of their brow and left behind them as a remembrance and a heirloom, as an encouragement, a lesson or a warning. Similarly there is such a thing as the language of manuscripts; and it is to those who are interested in this language and love to listen to it that this collection of English documents, gathered from the files kept in the Bombay Record Office, is presented, specially to such of them as would fain follow the vicissitudes of fortune—the humble beginnings, the rapid growth, the partial eclipse, the renewed vigour and the predominant ascendency—of a Ruling Family, whose members in days gone by and even in our own days have figured large in the history of Gujarat, where they are known as the Gaikwads of Baroda.

The documents here published—to be followed, if God so wills, by others referring to the same House—deal with the first two Gaikwads. They do not make up a detailed and connected historical narrative; they are mostly unrelated and disjoined sources of information about isolated events. Some of these

events are of a purely domestic character and of merely human significance; others transcend the narrow pale of private, individual interest and assume proportions of national consequence. But in every case, whether they concern the commonweal, the family or the individual, their importance is obvious to any one who realises the end and aim of historical studies.

History is a science, in as much as the historian must achieve impartiality and divest himself of preconceived notions in marshalling the materials out of which the past is to be called back to life. But the historian is not an unthinking tabulating-machine, assigning dates to events and arranging events in correct chronological order. Nor is his task solely concerned with separating the wheat from the chaff. He must make the past, that was dead, live again; and this he can never do, unless, besides being a scientist, he is also an artist.

Correct dates, undoubted facts and their unprejudiced interpretation are the foundation of every historical structure; but there is a difference between the foundation and the house that rests on it. First the blade, then the ear, and after that the full corn in the ear; and in the field of history this last stage of growth is incompatible with mere tabulation and simple enumeration; it implies deftness of touch in the art of representation.

" The historian is asked to bring the past to life. We ask of him a great tapestry, crowded with figures, filled with shifting lights, and crowds, and landscapes; and we insist sternly (though with perfect propriety) that he shall use no single thread for its weaving that cannot be vouched for as to its colour, length and weight by reference to his unvarying authorities, the scientific facts. Can it be wondered that some, more nervous than their colleagues, prefer the humble office of spinning thread to the arduous weaving of the great tapestry. One may respect their caution. For thread must be spun and dyed, before it takes its place in the woven picture. But their work at the spindles and the dye-vat, however valuable, is a mere preliminary to the great weaving, which is the full duty of a historian" (Ph. Guedalla, *The Missing Muse*—which is the muse of history).

Hence it is that imagination plays such an important part in the work of historical composition as to be not only invaluable but essential to the historian. It is indeed the historian's chief concern to conjure up the atmosphere of the past, to see things from the point of view and in the light in which they were seen centuries ago, when circumstances of time and place and persons

were poles apart from what they are now. This task no one can successfully achieve, unless he has the artistic temperament, unless his soul is tuned, like some high-strung Aeolian harp, to pick up the ebbing vibrations of long lost messages so faintly throbbing in the dark and silent night of by-gone days, that they remain subliminal stimuli in the case of the great majority of men. For most men, imagination is synonymous with invention; with the historian it is recreative and reconstructive; it becomes the medium of making that which was dead live and triumph over the grave.

Gibbon, Froude, Macaulay, Michelet, Thiers and a host of other names clearly show what an important share Art has in the writing of historical works. And this testimony is all the more convincing, because with these writers the artistic element predominates to such an extent as to make them forget that history is also a science. They are not always reliable witnesses of the past; and yet there is a glamour about their works that fascinates the reader; and the latter has to be for ever on the alert not to be carried away by the majestic stream of word-painting and picture-building, without which, however, a work may be scientific, but can hardly claim to be historical in the full sense of the word.

In the light of these expository remarks on the nature of history, the importance of the English documents contained in this book need not be further expatiated on by way of proof. For their study will contribute towards the foundation of the historical edifice that some enthusiastic worker may be attempted to erect. They will rouse in him the recreative and reconstructive imagination, and help him to weave a picture of the past in lifelike colours. Everyone of these documents is like a thread which—when the historian has ascertained its colour, its length, its weight and its strength—will enter in the great tapestry that is meant to represent the pageant of the past.

Bombay, St. Xavier's College; June, 1936.

INTRODUCTION

General Survey of the History of the Gaikwads

This brief sketch is meant to give a bird's-eye view of the history of the Gaikwads. But for two or three minor changes, the greater part of it (1715-1862) is in the words of Lieut. Colonel R. Wallace, Resident at Baroda from 1860 to 1866. Wallace's account is brought up to date by making use of the information contained in *The Gazetteer of the Baroda State (edition, 1923)*.

The most distinguished of the first Maratha invaders who levied contributions in Gujarat was Khanderao Dhabade, who, having possession of the hill-fort of Songarh, which commands the main route into the province from the Deccan, had harassed it for many years, before he rose into such distinction as to receive the office of senapati from the Raja of Satara about A.D. 1715.

The Gaikwads were favourite adherents of Khanderao, and he obtained for Damaji Gaikwad the title of Shamsher Bahadur and the office of his mutalik or lieutenant in the year A.D. 1721.

Damaji Gaikwad and his patron died in the same year (A.D. 1721) and were succeeded, the former by his nephew, Pilaji, popularly considered as the founder of the family, and the latter by his son, Trimbakrao Dhabade.

In A.D. 1729 the Peshwa Bajirao first began to interfere in the affairs of Gujarat and negotiated with the Mogul Viceroy to relieve the province from the exactions and excesses of the several Maratha invaders who (besides the Dhabade) infested the province, on his making a formal cession to the Raja of Satara of the chauth and sardesmukhi. This excited the hostility of the senapati who formed a confederacy of the disappointed Maratha Chiefs to oppose the designs of the Peshwa. Bajirao crushed this revolt in a battle fought near Baroda on the 1st April, 1731, in which Trimbakrao Dhabade was killed.

His young son, Yeshwantrao, was however confirmed as senapati, and the collection of the Maratha revenue in Gujarat entrusted to him. Pilaji Gaikwad was also nominated his mutalik; but Yeshwantrao grew up a weak and vicious man; and though it cannot be ascertained exactly when the Gaikwads became formally principals instead of mutaliks or deputies, they were virtually so from this time, and the Dhabade family finally vanished out of Gujarat altogether.

Pilaji Gaikwad received at this time from the Raja of Satara the title of senakhaskhel or commander of the household troops, which is still held by his descendants; and as the senapati was to have the exclusive management of the Maratha interests in Gujarat, he was able to get rid of, or reduce under his authority, all the independent bands of marauders who had levied contributions on their own account.

As the Court of Delhi would not ratify the cession of the chauth, etc., which had been made by its Viceroy, Pilaji Gaikwad considered himself released from restraint and began to make permanent conquests and settlements; but his career was cut short by the hand of an assassin employed by Raja Abhaising of Marwar, who had been newly appointed Viceroy by the Court of Delhi.

He was succeeded by his son, Damaji Gaikwad, in whose long and active career of nearly 40 years the whole of Gujarat was wrested from the Moguls.

Damaji commanded his contingent with credit at the disastrous battle of Panipat and died in A.D. 1768. His death was the signal for family dissensions, which eventually brought the State into its present connection with the British Government.

Damaji had three lawful wives and male issue by each. His first wife had one son, Govindrao. But Damaji's eldest son, Sayajirao, as well as Fatesing, were born of his second wife; and a dispute arose between Govindrao and Sayajirao respecting the succession. The Peshwa at one time took the part of one, and then of the other; large sums were paid by both parties to the Poona Government; but Fatesing, who was an able and energetic man, managed the affairs of his brother so well that he finally obtained the sanction of the Poona Government; and having the advantage of the possession of the government, he succeeded in maintaining Sayajirao on the throne, while he himself acted as regent for his brother who was of feeble character.

Fatesing, however, desired to strengthen his position as well against the Peshwa as against Govindrao, and made some overtures to the Bombay Government with that view in A.D. 1772, which however were not at that time accepted.

When the Bombay Government entered into the unfortunate connection with Raghunathrao, the pretender to the Peshwaship, in A.D. 1775, they dispatched a force under Col. Keating into Gujarat to co-operate with him against the Peshwa's army in that province; and after a somewhat profitless campaign, during which Fatesing maintained a species of armed neutrality, a treaty was entered into with him by which the Gaikwad Government engaged

to furnish a body of horse for Raghunathrao's service, to pay to him the arrears of revenue due to the Poona Government from Gujarat as well as 8 lakhs per annum for the future, and to cede to the Bombay Government territory to the amount of more than 2 lakhs of Rupees; and on the other hand Raghunathrao was to provide Govindrao with a jagir in the Deccan.

All these proceedings of the Bombay Government were disavowed by the Supreme Government as impolitic, dangerous, unauthorised and unjust; and the connection thus formed between the British and Gaikwad's Government was dissolved accordingly.

The rupture, which took place between the Court of Poona and the British Government a few years after, was the cause of an offensive and defensive treaty with Fatesing concluded by General Goddard on the 26th of January, 1780.

By this treaty, the Peshwa's districts in Gujarat were divided between the contracting powers; all those north of the river Mahi were to fall to Fatesing, in consideration of which he ceded his own districts south of the Tapti, called the Surat athavisi, his share of Broach, and villages adjacent, and the district of Sinor on the Narbada. Fatesing was to be relieved of the tribute he had paid to the Peshwa at least till the close of the war, and he was to send 3,000 horse to the British army.

When peace was concluded with the Poona Government by the treaty of Salbai on the 17th of May, 1782, by which the foregoing treaty was in fact annulled, all the territory conquered from the Peshwa in Gujarat was restored, and Fatesing Gaikwad was placed on the footing on which he stood at the beginning of the war; he was to pay the usual tribute and perform the usual service to the Poona Government for the future, while no demands were to be made on him for arrears, and the Gaikwad State was guaranteed from dismemberment.

Fatesing Gaikwad died in consequence of a fall from an upper storey of his palace on the 21st December, 1789. Govindrao was at the time at Poona, and a younger son (by another wife) of Damaji, named Manajirao, assumed the regency, which he retained till his own death about the beginning of August, 1793.

During the discussions as to the conflicting pretensions of Govindrao and Manaji, the Peshwa exacted large sums from the latter as he had done during the preceding disputes between Govindrao and Fatesing; and now, before he would allow Govindrao to [illegible] he obliged him to sign an agreement to cede the Gaikwad's share of the districts south of the Tapti, *viz.* the Surat athavisi and the customs of Surat, which had been previously ceded to the [illegible]

and restored at the treaty of Salbai. This, however, being objected to by the British Government as a dismemberment of the Gaikwad State, the project was relinquished by the Peshwa, and Govindrao set out on the 19th December, 1793, to assume the regency.

Aba Shelukar was the officer appointed by the Poona Government (Bajirao II) to administer the Peshwa's share of Gujarat. His conduct in this office led to hostilities between him and Govindrao, which ended in the former being defeated and made prisoner. As Aba Shelukar was a creature of the minister Nana Fadnavis, whom the Peshwa hated, Bajirao had secretly incited Govindrao to this act, and rewarded him by granting him the farm of these districts for a payment of 5 lakhs per annum.

Before Aba Shelukar had been overcome, however, the Governor of Bombay, Mr. Duncan, had gone in person to Surat in the year 1800, to assume the government of that city on the death of the Nawab, and he had been directed by the Supreme Government to endeavour to obtain from the Gaikwad the cession of his share of the chauth of that city.

Govindrao readily assented and granted also at Mr. Duncan's request the district immediately around, without any condition, except that the Peshwa's consent should be obtained to the gift. He immediately after asked for aid against Aba Shelukar, which application was evaded; but, as before stated, he was overcome and taken prisoner shortly after.

Govindrao himself survived these events but a short time; he died in September, 1800, and the family dissensions again disturbed the peace of the province. To describe the origin of these it is necessary to go a little back.

Damaji Gaikwad had a brother by name Khanderao to whom he behaved with much liberality; and after Damaji's death Khanderao had sided with Govindrao in his struggles with Fatesing, and had taken up arms in his behalf. In consequence, Fatesing, when victorious, seized on a part of his jagirs and made him pay peshkash for the remainder.

Khanderao died in A.D. 1785 and was succeeded by his son Malharrao, a good soldier and a bold, energetic man; and when Govindrao succeeded to the regency, he naturally thought he should be recompensed for his father's kindness to Govindrao, and that the whole of his jagir would be restored to him. Disappointed in this, and irritated by some personal disfavours and by a demand made on him for arrears of peshkash, he began to make preparations for war.

At the same time, Kanhoji, an illegitimate son of Govindrao, a man of turbulent and daring character, also went into rebellion, and eventually Govindrao surrendered himself to Malharrao, who was in possession of the fort and district of Kurree [*Kadi*]. A campaign ensued, in which the rebels were worsted, and Kanhoji, taken prisoner. Malharrao, however, was eventually pardoned on payment of a fine, and his jagir restored to him. This occurred in A.D. 1794.

On the death of Govindrao in A.D. 1800, his eldest son, Anandrao, was put on the throne; but a few days after, Kanhoji, having corrupted his guards, regained his liberty, presented himself before the feeble and terrified Anandrao, who surrendered to him the seals of the State, and submitted for a time to his influence. But Kanhoji's conduct was so overbearing that a cabal was formed against him, at the head of which was Raoji Appaji, a person who had served the late Govindrao, and he was again thrown into prison.

The aged widow of Damaji Gaikwad for some cause or other was dissatisfied at seeing Anandrao in the hands of Raoji Appaji and the cabal, and invited Malharrao to come and take up the regency. He immediately responded to the call of taking up arms, and at the same time Kanhoji again escaped from confinement and joined him.

Thus beset, Raoji Appaji resolved to extricate his Master and himself once for all from the perils thickening around them; and overtures were made to the Bombay Government to subsidise 5 battalions of sepoys, if Malhrarrao were reduced, and Anandrao saved from the domination of his Arab soldiery, whose demands for payment of arrears were of the most menacing kind, while their fidelity was more than doubtful.

The required assistance was given, Malharrao was subdued, taken prisoner, and sent to Bombay; Kanhoji was transported to Madras; and the Arabs effectually curbed. Money was advanced or borrowed on the British guarantee for the payment of the troops, whose numbers were reduced, and the government of Anandrao placed beyond the reach of any domestic broils.

To secure these objects Raoji Appaji joined Mr. Duncan with full powers at Cambay, and concluded with him first a convention, dated 17th March, 1802, and subsequently a formal treaty was signed on the 6th of June; and on the 29th July following Anandrao confirmed all the preceding stipulations.

The whole of these were eventually consolidated into a defensive treaty dated 21st April, 1805, consisting of 17 articles drawn

up under the authorisation of the Governor General in Council.

The next engagement into which the Gaikwad entered with the British Government arose out of the events during which his public minister, Gangadhar Shastri, at the time on a mission to the Peshwa's Court, was murdered by Trimbakji Danglia, the favourite of Bajirao. This severed the connection between the Gaikwad and the head of the Maratha Empire.

The Peshwa by the treaty of Poona, under date 13th June, 1817, and in the 4th article, recognised the dissolution in form and substance of the Maratha Confederacy and renounced all connection whatever with the other Maratha Powers.

In the 5th article he renounced all future demands on H. H. Raja Anandrao Gaikwad, whether resulting from the former supremacy as executive head of the Maratha Empire, or from any other cause; and he consented (for the annual payment of 4 lakhs of Rupees by the Gaikwad) to discharge all pecuniary claims on him on account of arrears.

By the 7th article among other cessions he assigned in perpetuity to the British Government all his rights and territories in Gujarat (with the exception of Ahmadabad, Olpad, and the annual payment due by the Gaikwad) also the tribute of Kathiawar, estimated after deducting the expenses of collection at 4 lakhs of Rupees.

By the 15th article he granted the farm of his share of the city and province of Ahmadabad to Anandrao Gaikwad in perpetuity for 4½ lakhs of Rupees.

On the 6th November, 1817, a supplement to the definitive treaty of the 21st April, 1805, was signed by the Gaikwad and ratified by the Governor General.

By the 1st article the subsidiary force was increased by 1,000 native infantry and two regiments of native cavalry on the same terms as the former subsidiary.

By the 3rd article the Gaikwad ceded to the British Government all the rights he had acquired from the perpetual farm of the Peshwa's territory subject to the city of Ahmadabad for the regular payment of the expense of the augmentation of the subsidiary force.

By the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th articles exchanges and cessions of territory were arranged.

By the 8th article the Gaikwad engaged to bring forward his whole military resources to the assistance of the British Government, and engaged to maintain 3,000 horse at his own expense at its disposal; and the British Government agreed to consider and

determine the pretensions of the Gaikwad to benefit by any partition of territory acquired by foreign wars.

The 9th article provided for the mutual surrender of offenders.

The 10th article confirmed all articles of the definitive treaty, dated 21st April, 1805, not contrary to the present engagement.

Another article was added on the 2nd October, 1818, by which the district known as the Gaikwad's Daskroi with the haveli in the city, and the Kasbah of Mota, and the pargana of Tadkeshvar in the Surat athavisi—including therein a cession on account of the moglai dues in the Gaikwad's Surat athavisi—were ceded in exchange for the districts of Dabhoi, Bahadarpur and Savli, in lieu of what had been formerly given in exchange for them.

The above arrangements had for their object the consolidation of the territories of the respective Governments in Gujarat, and also to impose on the Gaikwad a more adequate proportion of the military charges of the province; for, though his irregular troops were maintained at a great expense, they were found wanting in efficiency, and the duty as well as the extra charges of field-service fell upon the British Government. This was considered reasonable, considering that by the late treaty with Bajirao the Gaikwad had been released from the suzerainty of the Peshwa, which had been always onerous as well as disagreeable; and his entire independence was secured, except in so far as it was limited by the treaties of friendship and alliance he had from time to time contracted with the British Government.

Anandrao Gaikwad died on the 2nd October, 1819. He was succeeded by his younger brother, Sayaji, who had for some time previous been regent.

During his reign by a convention concluded with the Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, the Gaikwad Government agreed to send no troops into the lands of his tributaries in Kathiawar and Mahi Kantha, and to make no demand on them except through the medium of the British Government; and the latter engaged to procure payment of the said tribute, free of expense to the Gaikwad Government, agreeable to the perpetual settlement made with the tributaries in the years 1807-1808 and 1811-1812 respectively.

This was the last public engagement, involving any [illegible] in the territories of H. H. the Gaikwad or in his sovereign[illegible] or privileges, which was concluded with the British Gov[illegible]

The convention was dated April 3rd, 1820.

Sayajirao Gaikwad died on the 19th December [illegible]

succeeded by his eldest son, Ganpatrao,and the latter died on the 19th November, 1856, leaving several daughters, but no son; and his brother Khanderao succeeded to the throne in his place on the 12th December, 1856. The present Maharaja [*in 1862*] has had two sons, who both died in their infancy. The heir presumptive at present is, therefore, his only surviving legitimate brother, Malharrao, whose only son had also died in infancy.

The present sovereign and his brother are [*in 1862*] the only lineal legitimate descendants of Pilaji Gaikwad, who is always looked up to as the founder of the family; but there is a collateral branch descended from Maloji Gaikwad, the brother of Pilaji, (*1862, P. D. 24; 573, Native Chiefs*).

When Khanderao died, his brother, Malharrao, the successor to the throne, was a state-prisoner at Padra; and the sudden transition from confinement to uncontrolled power was his undoing. In 1874 he was solemnly warned by the British Government, but in vain. In the same year an attempt to poison the Resident, Colonel Phayre, led to a series of inquiries, and from the depositions of Malharrao's servants it was concluded that their Master was responsible for the attempt. In January, 1875, he was arrested and tried, with the result that his deposition was resolved upon and carried out without disturbance.

The now ruling Maharaja, as the son and heir of Khanderao, then ascended the gadi. His reign presents a pleasant contrast with that of his predecessor. To mention but a few details, a scientific land revenue survey and settlement has taken the place of the old policy of taxing at will; petty and vexatious imposts have been abolished; departments of Government have been formed; old laws have been amended; new codes have been framed; marked educational progress has been made; sanitation and medical aid have been fostered; a complete system of local self-government has been built up; in a word, owing to the Ruler's enlightened policy Baroda is on all hands acknowledged to be the most progressive Indian State.

This short survey may help the reader to form for himself a fairly complete idea of the Gaikwads of Baroda, their origin, their rise to power, their collapse, their renewed struggle for success, their fight for independence, the dark days of their weakness and, finally, the promise of a new dawn with the beginning of the enlightened rule of His Highness Maharaja Sayajirao III—a promise

of better and brighter days, made good during a long reign of 60 years, to which it is our earnest wish and prayer that many more years may be added.

The First Beginnings of Gaikwad Rule

The documents here collected refer to events mostly connected with Surat from 1721 to 1768. Hence, for the better understanding of these documents the following account of the Surat Sarkar is here given by way of preliminary information.

The Surat Sarkar consisted of the city of Surat and 28 parganas, known as the athavisi. The names of these parganas, together with the revenues that accrued from them in Mogul times, are recorded in the Mirat-i-Ahmedi (*The Mirat-i-Ahmedi Supplement, G. O. S. No. XLIII, 188*).

In Sir Jonathan Duncan's famous Minute of the 13th August, 1798, it is stated that " the present Castle of Surat is recorded to have been constructed about the year 1543, when Sultan Muhammad Shah was king of Gujarat; soon after which, that province fell by conquest under the dominion of the Mogul Emperor, whose policy it appears to have been to keep the killadari, or command of the Castle, distinct from the hakimi, or administration of the town, providing for the garrison (of the Castle) by allotment of territories (jagirs) and by the tankha or assignment of the revenue" (*Duncan's Minute, para 2; 1798, S. & P. D. 66*).

This division between the Castle and the town came to an end with the coming to power of Teg-Bakht Khan (1733), whose appointment by the Court of Delhi was little more than a formality, since from the first he was practically independent; for, discarding the official designation of mutasaddi or crown-clerk, which was distasteful to him like wine smacking of the cork, he styled himself Nawab or Viceroy, and he strengthened his position by confiding to his brother, Begler Khan, the care of the Castle, and by appointing another brother, Mahmud Khan—later known as Safdar Khan—Naib or deputy-nawab in charge of the police and other functions (*Gaz. Bom. Pres. II, 116*).

From the very beginning of his administration, Teg Bakht Khan set to work to fill his treasury by introducing new taxes and by increasing the duties on goods passing through Surat. With the same end in view he approached the Marathas. Though the latter had been driven by Rustam Ali from the districts round Surat (1723-1725), they had profited by the disorders of Sohrab Khan's governorship to make good their losses, and were once

more the masters of the surrounding country up to the walls of Surat. Accordingly Teg Bakht Khan entered into negotiations with the Gaikwad and in return for a yearly assignment of £23,600 (Rs. 2,36,000) acknowledged the Marathas' right to hold the lands, round Surat and to collect their revenues. Finally Teg Bakht Khan added to his revenue by withholding part of the subsidy due to the admirals of the Mogul fleet, the Sidis of Janjira, who had been entrusted with that office by Aurangzeb towards 1661 (*Gaz. Bom. Pres. II 116-117*).

Like Teg Bakht Khan, the English factors at Surat were eager to extend their power and to improve their finances. They would fain have forcibly appropriated the share of the Surat revenue which the Sidis annually received as admirals of the fleet, the more so as the latter were unable to afford adequate protection against piracy to the merchant ships that traded with Surat. But they did not venture to do so, lest the Sidis should join hands with the Marathas against the servants of the Company. They had, therefore, to be satisfied with granting passes to traders, with making an expedition against the Koli pirates at Sultanpur, and with asking Teg Bakht Khan to transfer the fleet subsidy from the Sidi to the Company. But this request was not complied with; for Teg Bakht Khan realised that, if the English were entrusted with the command of the Mogul fleet, they would insist on being paid the full subsidy. Hence his attitude towards the English changed by degrees from friendliness to opposition (*Gaz. Bom. Pres. II 117-118*).

To quote once more from Jonathan Duncan's Minute: " Teg Bakht Khan, dying in the year 1746, appears to have shortly thereafter had for his successor as hakim, or governor of the town, the Nawab Safdar Khan whose son, Wiqar Khan, entered at the same time on the killadari, or command of the Castle. This peaceable state of things proved, however, but of short continuance; for in, or about, the year 1748 [*the contest opened on the 23rd October 1747; see documents*] a Saïd, named Miah Achind, otherwise known under the name of Moyeen-ud-din, having married into the family of Teg Bakht Khan, was able to possess himself of the Castle from Wiqar Khan. He then applied for the assistance of Damaji, agreeing in return to give up a fourth of the revenue of Surat; and by his support and that of the English he was able to expel Safdar Khan from the darbar or civil government of the city; in which he continued to rule till 1751, when he was in turn attacked by Wiqar Khan and obliged to abandon the town and seek refuge into the Castle, which fell in consequence of these dissensions into the

hands of Sidi Masud, In the prosecution of the contest between Wiqar Khan and Miah Achind, the former is stated to have also applied for assistance to Damaji on a stipulation that he should enjoy half the revenues of Surat; but, when the business was accomplished, and his father, Safdar Khan, returned from Tatta whither he had proceeded on being in 1748 drawn [*thrown*] out by Achind, objections were raised by the said Khan [*Safdar Khan*], who had by this time resumed the administration, to the payment of so large a proportion; and, instead of half, it was settled to give Damaji only a third of the mokaut [*makta*] and other income (*Duncan's Minute, paras 6, 7; 1798, S. & P. D. 66*). Damaji's share was called the chauth of Surat, whilst the revenue assignments which the Nawab of Surat obtained from the Gaikwad, as above stated, were termed moglai; but all the 28 parganas were in the hands of the Gaikwad, and the Nawab was given assignments on these mahals to the extent of Rs. 2,60,000. " In 1752 Damaji agreed among other concessions to cede to his superior, the Peshwa, one moiety of his chauth or rather a third share of the Surat revenue" (*Duncan's Minute, para 7; 1798, S. &. P. D. 66*). In this partition, the territories of the Surat athavisi and the chauth of Surat were equally divided; and the Nawab was given assignments from the Gaikwad's or the Peshwa's parganas according to whom the respective parganas belonged.

" But dissensions soon after arose between Safdar Khan and his relation, Ali Nawaz Khan, on the one part and the Sidi on the other, so that in 1757 a negotiation was set on foot between them [*Safdar Khan and Ali Nawaz Khan*] and Mr. Ellis, our Chief at Surat, for expelling the Sidi from the Castle. But political considerations prevented our [*the English*] then availing ourselves of this offer; and other events intervened to create a difference between the Nawab [*Safdar Khan*] and Ali Nawaz Khan, who had connected himself with the Sidis and the Dutch, and whose views were ultimately directed to the nawabship, in which the said Nawaz Khan had for opponent Faris Khan, a man who was at that time also protected by the Marathas and secretly favoured by Safdar Khan. This last circumstance appears to have induced the Bombay Government to resolve in December, 1757, to open a correspondence with him [*Faris Khan*]; but meanwhile Safdar Khan died suddenly in January, 1758, supposed to have been taken off by poison by his relation, the aforesaid Ali Nawaz, who became thereupon Safdars' successor in the hakimi or nawabship of Surat, as had in 1756 the Sidi, Ahmad Khan [*become*] that [*the successor*] of his father, Masud, in the custody of the Castle" (*Duncan's*

Minute, para 8; 1798, S. & P. D. 66).

" The people of Surat appear, however, to have been so dissatisfied with the Sidi and with Ali Nawaz that in the same month of the latter's accession they offered through Mr. Ellis to make up for five years any deficiency of two lakhs of Rupees per annum in the receipts from the tankha (an assignment for the support of the fleet) and of the funds for the maintenance of the Castle, if the Company would resolve to take possession of them; which they appear to have been again deterred from attempting, in dread of the resentment of the Maratha Government, who had views at this time of taking Surat to themselves, notwithstanding our having in March, 1758, proceeded so far as to have entered into a formal treaty with Faris Khan, stipulating to put him in possession of the government of the town, taking to ourselves the Castle and the fleet, Faris Khan being at the expense of the expedition, for which he bound the phurja custom-house, besides two lakhs to be raised by a vera or levy on the city, in lieu of plunder, to the army—and other articles not material here to recite" (*Duncan's Minute, para 9; 1798, S. & P. D. 66*).

" This suspension of proceedings on our part afforded time for another revolution in Surat, occasioned by Miah Achind, *alias* Moyeen-ud-din, who had on his dispossession in 1757 repaired to Bombay; after which Achind was able by his own exertions, aided by the support of the Sidi, Ahmad Khan, the Commandant of the Castle, and [*by*] the influence of that branch of the late Teg Bakht family into which he had married, to expel in December, 1758, Ali Nawaz Khan from the nawabship and to effect his own re-instatement" (*Duncan's Minute, para 10; 1798, S. & P. D. 66*).

" Between the period of the discontinuance of our preparation in the early part of 1758 in favour of Faris Khan and the end of Ali Nawaz's government in December following [*December 1758*], [*various*] circumstances and a desire to anticipate the designs of the Marathas or of any other European nation led in the beginning of 1759 to a renewal of the intention to obtain for the Company the Castle and the fleet and to fix Faris Khan in the civil government or, if that was found impracticable, to make him Naib to Achind" (*Duncan's Minute, para 11; 1798 S. & P. D. 66*).

The attempt to dispossess Miah Achind of the nawabship was frustrated, and the English had to be satisfied with making Faris Khan Achind's Naib; " and a treaty was entered into with Achind to that effect on the 4th March [*1729*], on which day the Sidi agreed to give up the Castle and the fleet" (*Duncan's Minute, para 13; 1791, S. & P.D. 66*).

But before embarking on this venture " letters were written to the agents of Nana (*i.e.*, the Peshwa) and Damaji and to Naro Pant, the Commander-in-Chief of the Maratha fleet at the Bar, to assure them that there was no intention to trench or innovate on their Masters' just rights and interests at Surat" (*Duncan's Minute, para 11; 1798, S. & P. D. 66*).

From the time the English secured the possession of the Castle they practically controlled the affairs of the Nawab of Surat; and there followed a period of 40 years during which they made persistent efforts to appropriate an ever-increasing share of the Surat revenue. In 1800, on the extinction of the Nawab's line, they assumed the sovereignty of Surat. In 1802 they obtained from the Gaikwad the cession of the Surat chauth, and later in the same year they also acquired the Peshwa's share by the treaty of Bassein. In this manner they became the sole masters of Surat city in the year 1802.

Pilaji and Damaji Gaikwads

This brief survey of the Surat Sarkar, its political vicissitudes, internal dissensions, external insecurity will help to bring out the meaning and significance of the documents here published. In this collection of documents the growing power and the increasing influence of the Gaikwads, notably of Damajirao, force themselves on the mind. Damajirao's hold over the country in the neighbourhood of Surat is unquestioned; and in the game of politics that was played at Surat it was Damajirao's goodwill that principally counted. Nobody cared to have him as an enemy; and the English factors, shrewd merchants well versed in the wisdom of the world, were scrupulously careful to cultivate his friendship. They missed no opportunity of sending him presents, and did so with such regularity that the presents may perhaps in the eyes of some assume the appearance of an unofficial tribute. In quarrels in which Damajirao kept neutral, success went to the side that claimed his goodwill, as is duly called attention to in the notes prefixed to the several sections into which the documents, dealing with Damajirao, are distributed. Damajirao's power and influence are further evidenced by his activities on sea. Before the English possessed themselves of Surat Castle and assumed the office of admirals of the Mogul fleet, the Sidis had proved themselves unable to extend adequate protection to the trading vessels, which on their way from, or to, Surat, fell frequently a prey to piratical marauders. Accordingly Damajirao before long

created his own fleet, cruising round about Surat in order to protect the shipping in the pirate-infested area. This fleet often furnished convoys to ships sailing for Kathiawar and the ports of Sind. its headquarters were at Bilimora.

Two sections in this volume contain references to Damajirao's fleet. In 1750, at the instance of the Dutch, the English factors at Surat were ready to attack this fleet. But the Bombay Government proved wiser than their servants at Surat, and made it clear to them that Damajirao was not looked upon at Bombay as a public enemy, and that his vessels should not be interfered with. Thereupon the Dutch reconsidered their position and came to the conclusion that Damajirao's fleet should not be interfered with south of the city of Surat. Another section mentions the friendly arrangement negotiated by the English ambassador at Poona; it resulted in Damajirao ordering his captains not to molest vessels trading under the Company's protection.

From what precedes the main drift and the general tenor of the documents here published can be easily inferred; and this is why they are published under the caption: **Pilaji and Damaji Gaikwads.**

It only remains for the Editors to acknowledge their indebtedness to the Government of Baroda for enabling them to make this modest contribution to the history of the House of the Gaikwads.

Bombay, St. Xavier's College; June, 1936.

N.B.—The English documents are taken from various sources: the *Surat Factory Diaries*, the *Secret and Political Department Diaries* and the *Public Department Diaries*. At the beginning of each document, its source of origin is given in abbreviated form, according to the following scheme: the year to which the document refers, the diary from which it is taken, and the number of the diary.

The following abbreviations are used :

S. F.	Surat Factory Diary.
S. & P. D.	Secret and Political Department Diary.
P. D.	Public Department Diary.

The marginal notes and other words printed in italics do not form a part of the manuscripts, but have been added with a view to facilitate the reader's task.



BAJI RAO

I. PILAJIRAO (1721-1732)

WARLIKE BEGINNINGS

THE English documents referring to Pilajirao Gaikwad are comparatively few, lacking in wealth of detail and not always very informative. But read in the light of the accredited accounts of the beginnings of the Gaikwad's rise to power as recorded in the Gazetteers and in other historical works, they may, however, serve the purpose of bringing home to the student that Pilajirao Gaikwad was among the most successful Maratha invaders of Gujarat, as the inhabitants and the rulers of Cambay, Broach, Surat and Ahmadabad were able to testify, so that at last the Mogul Viceroy, Sarbuland Khan, called on Bajirao to assist him against the Gaikwad. This was the first great struggle in which Marathas fought against Marathas for the coveted leadership in Gujarat, the followers of Pilajirao Gaikwad against the armies of Bajirao, the Peshwa.

DOCUMENTS

Surat, 1st December, 1719 (1719-20, S. F. 611) 1719

Pilaji's claim

Our brokers informing us that they had wrote a letter (which was accompanied with a small present) to Pilaji[1], the chief of the party of Ganims[2] now abroad, to inquire the occasion of their coming; who returning an answer that they came peaceably to demand their dues and should do no damage to any merchants, we directed our brokers to send back the chintzes to the whitening place; and the country-merchants did the like.

---

1 Probably Pilaji Gaikwad, who is said to have defeated in 1719 an army sent against him by Shaikh-ul-Islam, Mutassadi of Surat (*Gaz. Bar. State*, I, 456).

2 Professor N. K. Bhagwat of St. Xavier's College, Bombay, supplies the following information: *Ganima* or *galima* (Arabic: Ghanima) is used in Marathi in the sense of 'looter' or 'enemy'. By convention it was the appellation given by the Muhammadans to the Marathas. The military tactics of the Marathas—those of Shivaji at any rate and of his immediate followers—are known as *ganimi kava* or guerrilla warfare as opposed to a pitched battle fought between opposing armies.

1720 *Bombay, 19th August, 1720* (*1719-20, P. D. 1A*)

Battle of Balapur

Received two letters from our Chief and Factors at Surat, advising that the news of Chin Kilich Khan's [*Nizam-ul-mulk*] success against the Nawab of Aurangabad[1] made him [*Shaikh-ul-Islam*] very cool.

1724 *Bombay, 10th November, 1724* (*1724, P. D. 2A*)

Decisive battle

The Chief and Factors at Surat, advise us that the King is much troubled at the loss of the battle of Duan[2] between Nizam-ul-mulk and Amanat Khan and for the death of the latter with his two sons. That the King had thereupon resolved to take the field himself against Nizam-ul-mulk ; but was persuaded to the contrary by Condora and Commodore Khan, two great omrahs[3]. They likewise advise that the King is displeased with Rustam Ali Khan for not joining with Amanat Khan according to the orders he had received; that he has now an army of four thousand horse and three thousand foot, and is going about four kos from Surat to oppose a party of Nizam-ul-mulk's forces, joined with the Ganims who are marching that way.[4]

1725 *Cambay, 23rd February, 1725* (*1723-25 S. F. II. 612*)
Daniel Innes to John Courtney.[5]

Marathas disturb trade

The face of affairs in general seems to tend to a revolution in the King's disfavour and by Chin Kilich Khan's [*Nizam-ul-mulk*] power to be held by strong hand. It is said last Friday Hamid Khan was received in the city of Ahmadabad. He has given the government of this place to one Mir Momin, who has appointed Looloji his deputy. The latter is arrived at Petlad, whereof he is likewise governor, and [*is*] expected here in a day or two; when, if the Ganims depart, Gujarat trade will go on as usual.

1725 *Bombay, 21st September, 1798* (*1798, S. & P. D. 66*)
Duncan's Minute[6].

Share in revenue

The present Castle of Surat is recorded to have been constructed about the year 1543, when Sultan Muhammad Shah was King of Gujarat; soon after which that province fell by conquest under the dominion of the Mogul Emperor of Delhi, whose policy it appears to have been

---

1 This is an allusion to the battle of Balapur, of which Irvine gives a detailed account (Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, 47—50). On that occasion the Gaikwad family first rose from obscurity, Damaji receiving the title of Shamsher-Bahadur (Wallace, *The Guicowar*, 5).

2 It has been impossible to identify Duan. According to Irvine the battle was fought on the 11th October, 1724, at Shakar-khera, now known as Fath-khera, in the southern part of Baldana District, Berar, some 80 miles from Aurangabad. The details about Mubariz Khan, (Amanat) and his two sons are corroborated by Grant Duff (*History of the Mahrattas*, I, 362) and by Irvine (*Later Mughals*, II, 142—150).

3 It has been impossible to identify the *omrahs* here mentioned. *Condora* may stand for Khanderao, and *Commodore* for Kamal-ud-din.

4 The concluding sentence points to Nizam-ul-mulk's growing influence. He was now virtually independent (Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, 154): and this explains why the Marathas, among whom were Pilaji and Kanthaji, were ready to join him.

5 Daniel Innes, Chief at Cambay ; John Courtney, Chief at Surat.

6 Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay.

to keep the killadari or command of the Castle distinct from the hakimi or administration of the town; providing for the garrison by allotments of territory (jagirs) and by tankha or assignments on the revenue, which appear to have become less productive from about the year 1720, when Shujaat Khan, the Nazim or Viceroy of Gujarat, and his brother Rustam Khan, the hakim or Mutasaddi (civil officer) of Surat, are related to have been slain in battle[1] by Hamid Khan, supported by Pilaji, the father of Damaji and ancestor to the present Gaikwad princes, who used thereafter to collect annually on his own account a part of the revenue, over the whole of which the Government of this branch of the Marathas is said to have become fully established in, or before, the year 1734, the towns of Surat and Cambay and their dependencies and some others on the coast excepted.

Broach, 23rd December, 1772 (1772-73, S. F. 662) 1725
Anecdote regarding Broach[2].

Share in revenue

About 50 years since (Broach being then under the subahship of Gujarat) one Shujaat Khan got the better of Hamid Khan and expelled him from the city of Ahmadabad. Hereupon, he (Hamid Khan) being a relation of Nizam-ul-mulk, wrote to him for his orders how he was to act, whether he should remain in the neighbourhood of Ahmadabad with such forces as had continued firm to him (and from his situation was under no apprehension of an attack) or proceed to Deccan. Nizam-ul-mulk directed him to remain where he was, and he would send a body of Marathas to join him, with orders, if Shujaat Khan fell into his hands, to cut him off. Shujaat Khan going a mulkgiri or collecting the tributes of the country, and being returned near to Ahmadabad, advice thereof was brought to Hamid Khan, who, with what people he had, made a forced march in the night, fell upon Shujaat Khan (who was killed in the action) and regained possession of Ahmadabad. Advice of this transaction being brought to Rustam Ali Khan, the Governor of Surat and younger brother to Shujaat Khan, he directly set out for Ahmadabad, and in his company Pilaji Jadav Gaikwad, Fatesing's grandfather. At a place called Adas, they were met by a party of Marathas, (who) attacked Rustam Ali Khan, defeated and killed him. Hamid Khan being thus firmly seated in the government of Ahmadabad and having no further occasion for the Marathas, composed of three different bodies, namely the Pawars, the Cuntars[3] and the above Pilaji, wanted to discharge them, but they insisted upon being satisfied for their services; Hamid Khan accordingly gave the two first, assignments on the lands of different countries, and to Pilaji an order on Broach for payment of about 3 or 4 lakhs. Pilaji hereupon assembled the landholders and desais of the different districts, demanding payment of this money in consequence of Hamid Khan's orders. In answer to which these people

1 Rustam Ali Khan was killed on the *21st February, 1725*, in the battle of Arras, of which Irvine gives a detailed description drawn from Persian sources (Irvin, *Later Mughals*, II, 176—183).

2 This anecdote, of Maratha origin, *is chronologically split* up into three parts. See *Index, anecdote.*

3 The followers of Udaji Pawar and Kanthaji Bande. *The Gazetteer of the Baroda State* calls them Pawars and Bandes *(I, 444).*

replied that, the country being ruined by wars, it was not in their power to comply with the Khan's orders. Pilaji then carried them prisoners to Songarh, his head place, about fifty miles distant from Surat.

1725 *Bombay, 6th March, 1725 (1723-25, S. F. II, 612)*
William Phipps to John Courtney[1].

Death of Rustam Ali Khan

We have received yours of the 16th, 19th, and 25th ultimo, and therein observe the accounts you give us of the death of Rustam Ali Khan and the proceedings of Hamid Khan, etc., to whom the Governments of Baroda and Broach have readily submitted. We wait to hear the resolution of the late Governor's son, and what treatment the city may probably meet with, if any opposition is made against his forces quietly taking posession thereof.

1725 *Cambay, 6th April, 1725 (1723-25, S. F. II, 612)*
Daniel Innes to John Courtney.

Cambay in danger

It was very unhappy her (the Sloop) not arriving a day or two sooner; for the same midnight we had multitudes of poor people from all parts round the country flocking to the city, and the gates were opened to receive them all, the Ganims being then within ten miles; and by nine or ten in the morning several parties of freebooters ravaging under the walls, ten or eleven carts coming from a Portuguese pol[2], where the sloop now lies, were all plundered. I yesterday hired two boats at the Bunder, in hopes to send the bales in them after the sloop. The Governor and the Ganim that is [*appointed*] for the collection of the quarter part, it is true, offered me 80 horse to go with them to the water-side for their security, but at the same time telling me they would not answer for what the freebooters might do. The person sent from the city to the Generals[3] is just returned. They demand five lakhs of Rupees. I believe it will cost the city one lakh at least, which, as all that the Banyas and merchants are willing to throw in their mite, will not be so much felt. Two of the Generals are at a garden just out of the city; and the other two, four kos off.

Cambay fined

1725 *Cambay, 7th April, 1725 (1723-25, S. F. II, 612)*
Daniel Innes to John Courtney.

Cambay sacked

Since my address of yesterday this town has been near sacked and burnt by Pilaji's forces; but by the protection of the Almighty we are likely to be safe. About 3 in the afternoon they set fire to an out-town adjoining to the city; the wind then proving southerly, it has done us no damage, and is now near extinguished. We have set fire ourselves to a large house without the walls, that otherwise might have annoyed us.

Pilaji and Kanthaji

Before this happened, the town had sent a person to negotiate terms for them with Pilaji through Kanthaji as mediator. The latter is appointed by the Sau Raja to this place and the adjacent for the

1 William Phipps, Governor of Bombay.

2 *Pol*, a gate, an enclosed ward of a city (Whitworth).

3 From the next letter it is evident that Pilaji and Kanthaji were among the generals here mentioned.

collection of his 1/4th part, and therefore a sort of a protector. He sent the before-mentioned person to Pilaji with a pass, directing him to hint that the place belonged to him and withal to offer a present of 20,000 Rupees, for him to leave the place. Pilaji made him a prisoner, which Kanthaji so highly resented that we all saw from the wall a severe skirmish between them, which ended by the flight of some thousands of Pilaji's forces two or three miles. The report is 1,500 or 2,000 men are killed on both sides[1]. They have been obliged through their own interest to join again in counsel, having received an express from Hamid Khan to repair to meet him on sight of his letter, who is gone from Ahmadabad and now at Matar[3], which is half way between this place and the former. The occasion of this sudden departure is said to be by some of his forces having deserted him together with the severe invective he has lately received from his nephew the Wazir, who has ordered his repair immediately to him at Aurangabad, through which we hope to be delivered from the danger we at present lay under, and live to a free trade again. You will be pleased per express to advise the President and Council of our present condition.

Cambay, 8th April, 1725 (1723-25, S. F. II 612) 1725
Daniel Innes to John Courtney.

Marathas retire

Since mine of last night I have the inexpressible satisfaction to acquaint you the Ganims have articled with the city and depart two days hence on condition of a lakh and ten thousand Rupees to be paid them in a reasonable time after; the sum will hardly be felt, and it will be accounted next to a miracle if the city is thus freed from them.

Cambay, 11th April, 1725 (1723-25, S. F. II, 612) 1725
Daniel Innes to John Courtney.

Maratha demands

I have not received any answer to my several addresses since the arrival of the Ganims. My last advised they had agreed with the city for a lakh and ten thousand Rupees, for the collection of which Kanthaji has sent his Diwan with a party of men into the city; the worst step that could be permitted; for the city is now entirely at their mercy, and I can make no judgment of its condition, as our lives and fortunes are dependent on the caprice of armed villains, [*who*] among the rest have cessed me 5,000 Rupees[4]. I have absolutely refused the payment, pleading our firman, etc., friendship with Sau Raj; all which they laugh at[5], and have renewed their threats. It will be ridiculous to talk

1 Pilaji and Kanthaji were rivals rather than friends; and disputes about the division of the spoils, won in previous military engagements, led to dissensions which culminated in a struggle at Cambay (*Gaz. Baroda State*, I, 440; Grant Duff, *History of the Mahrattas* I, 364).

2 Hamid Khan, who feared nothing more than disagreement between his two supporters, exerted himself to compose their differences. He appointed the districts north of the Mahi to Bande [*Kanthaji*] and those south of that river, namely Baroda, Nandod, Champaner, Broach and Surat to Pilajirao (*Gaz. Bar. State*, I, 441; Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, 184).

3 A village near Kaira; Pilaji seems to have complied with Hamid Khan's request (Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, 184).

4 Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II 184.

5 Grant Duff, *History of the Mahrattas*, I, 364; Forbes *Ras Mala*, 359.

of withstanding their power, so that, if they oblige me to pay it or any sum under, I must not risk the Right Hon'ble Company's thanas and bales of the investment with the fortune of those Gentlemen in my care, so as to insist [*on*] a denial longer than I can handsomely come off on it; for otherwise I have too many reasons to believe they will set fire to the factory. I, therefore, entreat you advise express as likewise in what manner I may expect to be reimbursed. I shall only add my endeavours for the best of this nice juncture shall not be wanting to the Company's honour as well securing part of their estate here as the private [*property*].

P.S.—Their demands are come to 3,000 Rupees. I have hopes given me, should the Ganims not go till these springs are over, of a safe passport for the thanas and bales of the investment. But, should it happen otherwise, please to send me your orders whether I must return the sloop and boat these springs.

1725 *Cambay, 15th April, 1725 (1723-25, S. F. II 612)*
Daniel Innes to John Courtney.

Marathas retire This morning early all the Ganims left this city except about 200 that are left here for the collection of the remainder; which is about 30,000 Rupees, for security of which the merchants have delivered them 4 hostages.

Enclosed is invoice of the thanas, made up to the 5th instant, which day I was in great hopes I should have put them aboard. I shall receive the amount of Goverdon, but at present he and his son will not appear, being frightened lest the Ganims, that are here for the collecting of the remainder, should lay hold or them both on their own account and the demand they made on the Factory. I have sent to them several times to stay here, but to no purpose. Bairam has paid no more than 500 Rupees; and as the power is gone, that forced it, he shan't pay a pice more, as I think a forced promise is not binding; and as for the 200 men that are here, I fear not their menaces. A few days will let us see what hopes we have of trade going on as usual, which can only [*be*] by the King's forces arriving at Ahmadabad, the Ganims designing for their own country.

1725 *Cambay, 19th April, 1725 (1723-25, S. F. II, 612)*
Daniel Innes to John Courtney.

Maratha demands Yesterday I was honoured with your favour of the 15th instant; by mine of said date you will perceive how I have acted on the Ganims' exactions by their happy departures; which, I hope, will meet with the President and Council of Bombay's and your approval; since which they here have charged a dakhla of 2½ per cent on all goods [*on which*] the King receives customs; but failing in their expectations of receiving from us what they first forced a compliance to, they will hardly attempt to lay it on those in the factory, which otherwise they might have been emboldened to do, though to no purpose; while they continue, there can be no thoughts of trade.

1725 *Bombay, 23rd April, 1725 (1723-25, S. F. II 612)*
Bombay to Surat.

Bombay approves Your letter of the 15th instant reached us the 22nd, wherein you give us an account of the troubles by the Ganims about Cambay, and that

Mr. Innes was obliged for security of the factory and the Hon'ble Company's effects to consent to the payment of 2,000 Rupees, which, in the light he represents it, we do not see it could be prevented, without risking greater loss, but are sorry to find they were no sooner withdrawn from that city than that a great body of Kolis appeared before the walls, whereby the danger was renewed, and whether, therefore, he be able to return the sloop and boats with what of our Hon'ble Masters' effects were lying in such jeopardy, as you expected, the last springs.

Cambay, 4th May, 1725 (1723-25, S. F. II, 612) 1725
Daniel Innes to John Courtney.

Maratha threats

I am glad you approve of my not paying more than the 500 Rupees if [*in*] no apparent danger; which shall govern me. I see none at present without the whole body of the Ganims should again visit this city, which none here have any apprehensions of, though they have not, as it was thought they would, yet left these parts, Pilaji with the other two generals are about Baroda, and Kanthaji at Nadiad.

Hamid Khan

Hamid Khan is not out of Ahmadabad, but the bazar news is that he intends with all the Ganims to leave these parts shortly; and I am of the same opinion. By his great oppressions the shroffs and merchants at Ahmadabad are daily running away; he cesses the houses; and as he catches a man, according to his estate squeezes him. He has sent here [*Cambay*] 30 horse with two officers, whom he has given bills on the Government towards the payment of some of his troops for one lakh and fifty thousand Rupees. To enable him to comply therewith, as the King's customs collected here are a trifle to that sum, every house is cessed at 12 Rupees, and orders [*are given*] for [*the*] seizing of about 50 of the head shroffs and merchants in the city to demand of them the advancing of the above sum, and on their refusal to send them to him, which occasioned a great many last night to run away. On the other hand, the Ganims, left here, are not yet gone, wanting, as they say, 10,000 Rupees of their agreement; but the merchants clamour and say, if the bill make up [*is made up*] accordingly, they will find two lakhs for one.

Cambay, 6th May, 1725 (1723-25, S. F. II 612) 1725
Daniel Innes to John Courtney.

Situation at Cambay

Everything is in the same posture as when I wrote you last, except 50 horse more arrived yesterday from Hamid Khan on the same score as the former. They have lessened their demand to 5 Rupees per house, on which some of the merchants have crept out of their holes; but I wish it may not be a trapan. No manner of business can go on while Hamid Khan's people and the Ganims stay here on the account they are at present.

Cambay, 13th May, 1725 (1723-25, S. F. II 612) 1725
Daniel Innes to John Courtney.

Situation at Cambay

Hamid Khan's people have forced from the merchants a pro[illegible] of 35,000 Rupees to be gathered in the manner as the Ganims' exto[illegible] when they, finding it impractable to make the rich with the poo[illegible] much per house, they sent here [*to the factory*] to demand 1,000 R[illegible]

The first time they went back with a put off; the next, with a flat denial; and I have not heard from them since further than that the Government and the Ganim fellow here have advised them to desist, the latter adding that the English even would not pay them. They are but 200 men, and I am under no manner of apprehensions of danger.

Hamid Khan

God send the news we have from Ahmadabad be true, which is that Hamid Khan leaves that place on Sunday next with Kanthaji the Ganim, who now waits for him at the King's garden there. The bazar news is the King's forces are not above 100 miles from them.

1725 *Cambay, 29th December, 1725 (1723-25, S. F. II 612)*
Daniel Innes to John Courtney.

Peace

This is to advise you that on the 29th instant Sarbuland Khan's son arrived at the garden a mile from town, with about 35,000 horse and 15,000 foot. The day before, they had a small skirmish with the Ganims, and killed about 40 of them; and yesterday came into the town their Khan, the new Governor appointed by Sarbuland Khan.

1726 *Cambay, 27th January, 1726 (1723-25, S. F. II, 612)*
Daniel Innes to John Courtney.

Fight with Marathas

The Governor of this place has received advices of another fight or skirmish the King's people have had with the Ganims[1]; in which, as he has informed our broker, they have been so fortunate as to kill Pilaji, wound Kanthaji, and get their elephants; the latter they have likewise surrounded, and hope to take; for which news the Governor gave the person that brought it a seerpao.[2] When I hear further particulars, I shall advice [*you*] by pattemar.

1726 *Broach, 23rd December, 1772 (1772-73, S. F. 662)*
Anecdote regarding Broach.

Pilaji and Broach

At this time the Moguls, esteeming their Government well established, kept only an officer of inferior rank with about 200 men at Broach for the collection of their revenue. Pilaji, taking advantage hereof, expelled the Mogul officer and people and put in his own forces under the command of Tulaji Colbaine. This man remained in the place about eight or nine months ; but a rumour prevailing that Pilaji was dead, he immediately set out for Songarh, leaving Broach in the hands of the Kasbatis (Muhammadan soldiers who serve anyone for pay, and are often security for the revenues arising from the land) with directions to them not to deliver it to any Maratha but himself. Upon Tulaji's arrival at Songarh, he found Pilaji alive, who severely rebuked him for his conduct in quitting Broach, and ordered him to go back again ; but the Kasbatis would not admit him.

Pilaji plunders

About this time Hamid Khan was removed by the King from Ahmadabad, and the command given to Sarbuland Khan, who appointed Abdullah Beg, Hamid Khan's great-grandfather, governor of Broach,

---

1 W. Irvine speaks of two pitched battles in which the Marathas suffered considerable losses ; the one at Sojitra near Petlad, the other at Kapadvanj 30 miles east of Ahmadabad on the eastern banks of the Mohar river (Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, 191).

2 The *saropa* would perhaps not have been given, had the Governor known that Pilaji had not been killed.

which the Kasbatis surrendered to him. The Marathas under Pilaji began then to be very troublesome, plundering and destroying the country. Abdullah Beg hereupon invited the Pawars[1] to his assistance, promising them, if the joint forces expelled Pilaji, he would satisfy them handsomely for their trouble.

Pilaji's share in revenue

The country continued in a state of confusion by both parties plundering the villages, etc. for about one year, when Sarbuland Khan being recalled from Ahmadabad, the Pawars retired, and Pilaji remained in this country. Shortly after Nizam-ul-mulk coming to a place called Haddanny about 80 kos from hence, he ordered Abdullah Beg to attend him, which he accordingly did, leaving the charge of this place with his relations. Upon Abdullah Beg's arrival at the court of Nizam-ul-mulk, he, in order to secure the quiet of the country, made up matters between Abdullah Beg and Pilaji. It was then first settled that the Broach revenues should be shared equally between them, and the Marathas have an officer in town with a proper number of men for collecting their shares of its revenue.

Cambay, 19th February, 1730 (1729-32, S. F. 614) 1730
Daniel Innes to Henry Lowther.[2]

Maratha designs

Yesterday from the Bombay Ketch on..................that evening tide at the bunder, I was............................... of the 10th instant the Sloop arrived the night................. 15th and 16th; and I have not yet been able to unload[3].......... and the whole of the city being in utmost confusion at the approach of the Ganims[4], who are in great number now round the town; but, as the Governor has been alert on this occasion, I hope they will be soon moving, when they find they are able to do nothing; as likewise we hearing they design for Petlad, which is an open town, wherein is about 1,500 of the Nawab's people, and the town's people are most sepoys, so that, if the Ganims come to any hostility, they may meet with a warmer reception than they may expect there, without their numbers overpowering them; from thence it's talked they design for Dholka and the villagers about Ahmadabad. You may easily imagine at this juncture I have not been able to put what bales I have already to be cleared in the English name on board the Ketch, as likewise what may offer belonging to the country merchants for the latter. The Governor at this juncture will never be brought to clear them till the Ganims move off; and he has as handsomely as he could refused me; telling me the presence of the Sloop and the Bombay Ketch in a great manner contributes to the safety of the city; and earnestly, therefore, entreating me not to deprive the city of that

1 Bajirao applied to the Mogul Viceroy for the right to levy chauth and sardesmukhi, promising to protect the country from the inroads of Pilaji and Kanthaji. His request was not granted. But the Viceroy allowed the Peshwa to send Udaji Pawar to operate against Pilaji (*Gaz. Bar. State*, I, 442).

2 Henry Lowther, Chief at Surat.

3 The opening lines of the letter are partly illegible.

4 A letter from Cambay dated 25th March, 1730 states that Chimanaji Appa, Bajirao's brother, was in command of the Maratha soldiers here mentioned (Wallace, *The Guicowar*, 15 ; *Gaz. Bar. State*, I, 442—443). How Chimnaji protected Gujarat from Pilaji and Kanthaji may be gathered from this letter and from the two letters immediately following.

benefit for two or three days; which, as I could neither unload the Sloop or put any goods on board the Ketch, I have tacitly complied with, yet nothing shall be wanting in both for the speedy unloading of the Sloop and putting what freight I can get on board the Ketch, as I shall have any the least opportunity.

1730 *Surat, 5th March, 1730 (1729-32, S. F. 614)*
Daniel Innes to Henry Lowther.

Maratha demands I should have despatched the Ketch sooner, but for the dilatoriness of our Government in chopping[1] the bales, occasioned through their continued apprehensions of the Ganims, though their main body moved off the night between the 20th and 21st instant to Petlad, where they still are. Nevertheless flying parties gave the villages about continual alarms, which occasioned daily people flocking into the city from thence. The Ganims demanded, while they lay round the city, three lakhs of Rupees; but nothing as yet has been paid them off. From Petlad they demand two lakhs and a half of Rupees, but as yet the town has come to no terms of agreement with them; and being an open place, doubtless they will be obliged to comply with some part of their demands.

1730 *Cambay, 25th March, 1730, (1729-32 S. F. 614)*
Daniel Innes to Henry Lowther.

Marathas plunder The Ganims under Chimnaji Raja, it is said, before they left Petlad, got from the town near two lakhs of Rupees; whence they moved off Dholka way. They took several carts loaded with Ahmadabad and Dholka goods to the value, as the loss is reckoned, of about three lakhs of Rupees; after which they took a tour towards Kapadvanj[2], but returned unexpectedly to Dholka, which town they attacked; but meeting with some resistance they have pillaged the greatest part of it; the loss sustained cannot as yet be known, but must be vastly great; multitudes say a crore of Rupees; others more moderate say half at least. This to be done, and so near the Nawab, makes it plain that he is far from having at heart the good or safety of Gujarat; they threaten this town [*Cambay*] with another visit, and the Government is upon their guard. How it may be, time must discover.

Kanthaji and Pilaji Kanthaji with his forces, consisting of about 5 or 6,000 Ganims, are come from Powagur[3] on this side of the river, where, it is said, he is joined with 5 or 6,000 more of the forces that go under the name of Pilaji's power. The route they take is said to be Gogo way. The present prospect is nothing but ruin, not only to trade but to the inhabitants of Gujarat.

1731 *Cambay, 7th April, 1731 (1729-32, S. F. 614)*
Daniel Innes to Henry Lowther.

Battle of Bhilapur Chimna Raja [*Chimnaji, Bajirao's brother*] has lately had a very considerable advantage over the joint forces of Pilaji and Kanthaji. The

---

1 *Chop* is properly a seal-impression (Hobson-Jobson).

2 30 miles east of Ahmadabad on the eastern banks of the Mohar river (Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, 191, Sarkar's note).

3 Pavagarh, a historic hill-fort in the Panch Mahals (*Imp. Gaz India*, XX, 79—80).

former has agreed with the Maharaja (Bajirao) for 13 lakhs of Rupees, the quarter part for all Gujarat; six of which the Maharaja paid him down, the remainder to be paid on his leaving these parts, but conditionally no other Ganim Power, beside Chimnaji, shall enter into Gujarat; which Chimnaji promised to hinder, should Kanthaji's or Pilaji's forces attempt it. Some days since[1], they came to an engagement within 3 or 4 miles of Baroda, wherein Chimnaji had the advantage. Kanthaji fled, Pilaji is wounded and run into Dabhoi Fort with 2 or 3,000 men; Trimbakrao, a great general, [*is*] killed; Pilaji's son [*is*] killed; 4 or 5,000 men [*are*] killed of Kanthaji and Pilaji; and Chimnaji is said not to have lost 1,000 men. 17 Elephants, it is said, Chimnaji has taken with 10 camels of treasure and four or five thousand horses without their riders with their tents and baggage[2]................................... Khan's son, nephew to Chin Kilich Khan [*Nizam-ul-mulk*] who, it is said, commanded 5,000 Moormen belonging to Chin Kilich Khan in the lascar of Kanthaji and Pilaji, he is said likewise to be killed. Udaji Pawar, a commander of 15,000 horse, is taken prisoner. It is to be hoped that the consequence of this ....surrending of Baroda into the Maharaja's people..............................[3] per cent is in Pilaji's; Chimnaji's forces have surrounded Dabhoi's Fort, that Pilaji is in. What makes the action the greater (is that) Chimnaji had but 15,000 ot 16,000 horse, and the joint forces of Pilaji and Kanthaji are said to have been upwards of 50,000.

Cambay, 10th April, 1731 (1729-32, S. F. 614) 1731
Daniel Innes to Henry Lowther.

Kanthaji, we hear, is making towards the Deccan; Pilaji is still *Pilaji*
at Dabhoi Fort.

---

1 The battle of Bhilapur was fought on the 1st April, 1731, according to the *Gazetteer of the Baroda State*, I, 444 ; on the 11th April, 1731, according to Irvine, *Later Mughals*, 251. This discrepancy may perhaps be accounted for by the difference between the Julian and the Gregorian calendars.

2 For an account of the battle of Bhilapur from Persian sources, see Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, 251—252. By way of a footnote Jadunath Sarkar has added two illuminating extracts from Maratha sources published originally by G. S. Sardesai, one of them being a letter from Bajirao, which runs as follows : "Trimbak Rao Dabhare, Udaji Anand Rao Puar, Kanthaji Raghuji Bande, Pilaji Gaekwar, and Chimanaji Dada [*Damodar*] with 30,000 men came to fight me. The battle took place on the 4th Sharwal five kos from Dabhoi. Trimbak and Zavaji Dabhare, Maloji Puar, Pilaji Gaekwad's son [*Sambhuji*] in all 14 chiefs, were killed. Udaji Puar [*Jaswant Rao,*] Pilaji Gaekwar, and Kumar Bahadur [*Kumar Baga Puar*] fled wounded. Bande fled. Their army was plundered. On our side Narayan Dhandheri was slain." (Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II 252, note).

3 The dotted lines are inserted where the Factory Diary is altogether illegible.

II. DAMAJIRAO 1732 - 1768

GENERAL SURVEY

THE documents dealing with Damajirao can for the sake of facilitating the student's task be distributed under various headings, provided it be borne in mind that these divisions are not in the nature of water-tight compartments. On the contrary it may very well happen that an event, which according to the chronological order is listed under a specific heading, bears no relation to the other events among which it is recorded, and which determine the choice of the caption that is prefixed to them. But such instances of apparent incongruity are inevitable in a compilation which consists of extracts culled from Diaries in which the chronological order is followed. With this preliminary remark to guard against uncalled for criticism, the following headings are here given as best suited to group under them a series of events connected among themselves, in spite of their being interspersed with one or other irrelevant occurrence.

(1) Quarrel between Teg Bakht Khan and the English (1733—1734)

(2) Revenue settlement between Teg Bakht Khan and Damaji (1735)

(3) Quarrel between Jagannath Laldas and the Surat Factors (1737—1738)

(4) Miscellaneous information (1740—1746)

(5) Struggle for supremacy between Miah Achmd and Safdar Khan (1747—1749)

(6) Damaji's fleet (1750)

(7) Renewed struggle for supremacy between Miah Achmd and Safdar Khan (1751—1753)

(8) Maratha aggressiveness (1753—1758)



DAMAJIRAO

and if they can be got there, or a happy turn of affairs should happen at Gujarat, they will advise us of it.

1734 *Surat Bar, Ship Heathcote, 22nd January, 1734 (1732-34, S. F. 616) John Robinson to Henry Lowther.*

Appeal to Damaji I have talked with the Ganims' shroff, who will write Damaji and Babarao to represent to the Governor that, if he thus molests the city by quarrelling with the English, they will not stand by unconcerned.

1734 *Surat Bar, Ship Heathcote, 22nd January, 1734 (1733-34, S. F. 616) Henry Lowther to Messrs Taudin and Robinson.*[1]

Appeal to Damaji You did well to give notice of these proceedings to the Ganims' shroff, and the sooner he advises Damaji, his Master, the better, as a hint from him to Teg Bakt Khan may open his eyes and give him a fair opportunity to throw off Chalebi's ill councils and consider how to preserve the tranquility of the city better than he has lately done.

1734 *Surat Bar, Ship Heathcote, 24th January, 1734 (1733-34, S. F. 616) Henry Lowther to Robert Cowan*[2].

Damaji's offer Damaji, the commanding officer of the Ganims, twice advised the Chief that, if stopping the Bar will not bring the Governor to a compliance, he is ready to march before the town with any number of men the Chief shall think necessary. But these are dangerous experiments and only to be tried at the last extremity. However on this occasion it was thought proper to return him a civil answer and to desire him by word of mouth to write Teg Bakht Khan a warning setting forth to him the reasonableness of our demands; and this, we may expect, will be sent every moment and will undoubtedly forward our designs.

1734 *Surat Bar, Ship Heathcote, 1st February, 1734 (1733-34, S. F. 616) Henry Lowther to Robert Cowan.*

Maratha support Babarao, the commanding officer of the Ganims, who came by an invitation from this Governor, and after making a short stay, when he went to take his leave of Teg Bakht Khan, he [*Teg Bakht Khan*] desired him to encamp some of his horses at Dumas[3] and another party at Vauxe's tomb to countenance his present disputes with the English. The answer he [*Babarao*] returned him was that he was sorry the assistance we gave him [*Teg Bakht Khan*] to establish him in his government was so soon forgot, and added that his advice was to make up matters with us as soon as possible; and since this, we have had another message from Damaji, desiring us not to give up one point to the Governor; for, in case the English can't bring him to reason, he and his evil councillors will soon swallow up all the other merchants in their turn and ruin the city; which agrees with our own sentiments and [*those of*] the inhabitants in general, who are all in our interest and have at their meetings, which have been frequent on this occasion, declared that, in case the English withdraw from Surat, they would all follow us down to Bombay.

1 Henry Lowther, Chief at Surat; Taudin and Robinson, Surat factors who stayed at Surat when the Chief and the other factors withdrew from the city.

2 Robert Cowan, Governor of Bombay.

3 Domus, about 11 miles south-west of Surat.

No. 2. REVENUE SETTLEMENT BETWEEN TEG BAKHT KHAN AND DAMAJI (1734—1735)

THE various events recorded in the course of the year 1735 evidence how rapidly Damaji was recovering from the temporary discomfiture in which the Gaikwads were involved consequent on Pilaji being murdered in 1732. The manner in which Damaji claimed a share in the Surat revenue clearly shows that, so far from standing in dread of Teg Bakht Khan, Damaji himself was feared by the Surat Governor and by the English. The settlement was arrived at in 1735. A few documents are added relating to the years 1736 and 1737; they likewise establish Damaji's widespread influence in Surat and the surrounding countryside. For the Surat Factors set great store by his parwanah, made him presents, and cherished the hope that Farukhsiyar's firman might induce Damaji not to trouble them.

DOCUMENTS

1735 *Treaty between the Nawab of Surat, Teg Bakht Khan, and Damaji. Translate of a paper from the Nawab Hafiz-ud-din*[1] *respecting the Surat pargana, dated Surat, 27th April, 1785* (*1785 S. & P. D. 32*)

Gaikwad revenue Formerly, when the Marathas were not in these districts, the revenue of all the parganas around were collected by the Nawab of Surat. After the Nawab Rustam Ali Khan was killed, Pilaji Gaikwad, the father of Damajirao, got a footing in these parganas, and shortly [*got*] possession of them. At that time Sohrab Khan, the son of the before-mentioned Rustam Ali Khan, was Nawab of Surat, and Saīd Wali[2] was the faujdar of the parganas. He often went out of the town and had frequent skirmishes with Pilaji, and after his [*Pilaji's*] death with his son, Damaji, took the desais of the parganas and brought them into town, plundered and destroyed the villages, and by these troublesome and dis-

1 Mir Hafiz-ud-din was Governor of Surat from 1763 to 1799. This account may be briefly summarised as follows: Damaji held the Surat pargana on payment of Rs. 2,36,000, besides amils, which with deductions brought Teg Bakht Khan a yearly income of Rs. 1,09,992 (*Gaz. Bar. State*, I, 450).

2 He is called *Sind Valah* in the *Gazetteer of the Baroda State*, I, 450.

agreeable means recovered six or seven lakhs of Rupees. The Marathas also prevented the inhabitants of the town from going out, and night and day with their troops made what collections they could. At last the Marathas settled with Teg Bakht Khan, the Kiladar, who was also joined by the merchants of the town, and turned the Nawab Sohrab Khan out of it. Both the Castle and city were then in the possession of the Nawab Teg Bakht Khan. In that time the Peshwa had nothing to do with these parganas. All were under the Gaikwad. After the above event of turning out Sohrab Khan, Damaji sent for Dayaram,[1] Teg Bakht Khan's Diwan, and told him that, as friendship subsisted between the Nawab and him, it was highly improper they should dispute as to the collection of the revenues. Therefore he would give a certain sum to the Nawab from each pargana, which he must agree to, *viz.* two lakhs and thirty-six thousand Rupees, besides the amils' sukhdi[2] or customary fees; and gave an order upon the several parganas as by the under written account. In the settling of this business there was not any writing passed between them, but an order sent to the different parganas that, agreeable thereto, the sums were yearly to be paid to the Nawab of Surat. By the favour of God, till now *[1785]* the above agreement, which was made in the year 1147 of the Hijra (answering to the year 1734[3] of the Christian era) near fifty three years ago, has been duly attended to.

An account of the above settled moglai revenues from the parganas.

Pargana	Chorasi ..	32,400	Kasbah	Mota ..	850
,,	Olpad with the salt pans ..	40,000	Kasbah	Bardoli ..	200
,,	Kamrej ..	14,100	Pargana	Hansot ..	11,600
,,	Gandevi ..	18,500	,,	Mahuva ..	5,000
,,	Chikhli ..	15,350	,,	Anklesvar ..	12,000
,,	Parnera ..	2,050	Kasbah	Variav ..	8,500
,,	Teladi ..	6,000	Pargana	Temba ..	9,500
,,	Galha ..	9,000	,,	Balesar ..	24,750
,,	Sarbhon ..	4,500	,,	Parchol ..	4,500
,,	Supa ..	4,500	Kasbah	Navsari ..	2,000
,,	Kadod ..	1,050	Pargana	Rander ..	7,000
,,	Maroli ..	2,650			2,36,000

From which the jagir for the Castle, etc. to be deducted, viz:

For the Castle and tankha for the fleet.

Pargana Temba	9,500
Kasbah Variav	8,500
Pargana Anklesvar	12,000
Besow and Cajode[4], two villages in the Chorasi	1,975-3
Pargana Balesar for the tankha for the fleet	24,750
	56,725·3

1 In a letter of the 23rd October, 1735, he is called Maneckchand.

2 A kind of sweetmeat; the fee or perquisite which an agent expects; the remuneration derived from villages by desais.

3 The correct date seems to be 1735, see letter dated 28th December, 1735.

4 Forrest writes Vissow and Couchud (Forrest, *Selections, Maratha Series*, 134).

On account of jagirdars from the presence:

In Parchol: Bairam Khan's Jagir	4,500
In Navsari: Mir Sifful Deen deceased, his jagir	2,000
	6,500
The desais' inams in the parganas:	7,600
Some villages and grounds given to persons in the time of the Nawab Teg Khan, and which to this time have been given by the Nawabs of Surat in the Chorasi, etc. ..	37,731-2

By reason of the daily increasing influence of the Marathas, and inactivity of the Governors of the city, the people of the following parganas pay less than the revenue, and some times, when I can catch the desais, I do get a part:

In Chikhli .. 6,350	In Kamrej .. 5,100			
In Galha .. 3,000	In Hansot .. 3,000			
		17,450		
			1,26,007-1	

The balance now received by me is: Rupees 1,09,992-3

1735 *Surat, 23rd October, 1735 (1734-35 S. F. 618)*
Henry Lowther to John Horne.[1]

Damaji and T.B. Khan

We had lately had a considerable body of Ganims in these parts, more than usual since the conclusion of peace with them, upon Teg Bakht Khan's first taking charge of this government. Various are the reports on this occasion, but we are apt to believe their chief design is to evade paying this Governor any future acknowledgment in lieu of the outrents which they have collected from some time. The sum first stipulated, anno 1732, was one lakh and sixty thousand Rupees, but has considerably dwindled since that; and now they seem inclinable to pay nothing; and the next step we may expect is a demand from the Ganims of part of the sea-customs and other revenues of the city. Teg Bakht Khan sent two messengers to Songarh to treat with Damaji; but to this time he refuses to see them, but insists that Manekchand, the Diwan, goes up, who is very unwilling to trust himself in the hands of the Ganims at a time that hostilities seem ready to break out.

1735 *Surat, 29th October, 1735 (1735-36, S. F. 619)*
Teg Bakht Khan's fears.

Trouble expected

This day at noon Teg Bakht Khan sent the broker to the Chief (as he apprehended the Ganims would soon break the peace subsisting with this Government) to take care and get in what goods we had out as soon as possible. At the same time he summoned all the merchants to the Darbar and gave them the same notice as well as the other Europeans.

1735 *Surat, 2nd November, 1735 (1734-35, S. F. 618)*
Henry Lowther to Hugh Bidwell.

Ahmadabad

Our last letter to you bore date the 30th ultimo, and last night the Chief received your letter to him of the 29th instant, the contents of

1 John Horne, Governor of Bombay.

which he immediately communicated to us, by which we are sorry to observe the success of the Ganims have had against the troops of Ahmadabad Raja whom they have pursued to the city.

Cambay

The success, we observe, has encouraged them to send a message to the Governor of Cambay demanding half the customs ; and in case of refusal they will destroy everything by fire and sword ; and though we don't apprehend that it will at once come to this issue, yet we have in fact complied with your indent of warlike stores demanded, so far as we are able, as per list annexed, but are at a loss to know what you mean by a part of the town usually allotted to be defended by the English, as we have seldom had more than one Company's servant there at a time, who in case of any attempt would be of little service.

Surat 2nd November, 1735 (1734-35, S. F. 618) 1735
Henry Lowther to John Horne.

Damaji and T.B. Khan

Our last humble respects to Your Honour etc. bore date the 23rd ultimo and waited on you per Bombay Ketch. The 29th, Teg Bakht Khan sent a message to us, advising us to secure what effects we might have out as soon as possible, as he apprehended from a message he had received from Damaji, the commanding officer of the Ganims in this district, that hereafter they would not pay this Governor any acknowledgments in lieu of the out-rent ; and if so, he should be obliged to come to an open rupture with them. The same notice he gave to the Dutch, French and all the other merchants.

Damaji's parwanah

In this emergency we have consulted persons most conversant on this affair, who advise us to continue carrying on the investment, as we have long since obtained a parwanah or leave from the Ganims to prosecute it without interruption ; and this order they don't think they will easily break through.

Present

However we have given the broker orders to add a further gratuity to them on this occasion, provided he shall deem it necessary ; and as in this we have prosecuted the same steps with others in like circumstances, we hope it will meet with Your Honour &ca's satisfaction.

Surat, 2nd November, 1735 (1735-36, S. F. 619) 1735

Cambay in danger

The Chief received a letter this day per pattemar from Mr. Hugh Bidwell, dated Cambay the 29th ultimo, advising that the Ganims have drove the Raja back to Ahmadabad and sent a message to the Nawab [*of Cambay*] to demand one half of his customs of sea and land ; and if he did not comply therewith, they would destroy everything by fire and sword. That the Nawab sent him a message to put the Factory in a good defence and to provide a sufficient number of sepoys to defend the part of the town usually assigned to the English.

Request for munition

That the Governor [*Teg Bakht Khan*] wrote a letter to the Hon'ble the President of Bombay, desiring some gun-powder (he had remitted a bill of one thousand Rupees for that purpose), and that he had himself taken that opportunity to advise the Hon'ble President that he had wrote the Chief for one of the gallivats, and to let him know the danger they were in, in case the Ganims should approach, and desired to have the following ammunitions and warlike stores sent him.

He [*Teg Bakht Khan*] desired the Chief, if any of these articles were in the Factory, to send them to him and the gallivat, particularly the guns and gun-powder being in great want of, they having only their own fowling-pieces to defend themselves.

He advises he had already hired ten sepoys extraordinary; and if the enemy approaches, he will be obliged to hire more.

Arms supplied Answered the letter the Chief received yesterday from Mr. Hugh Bidwell (which we forwarded by a boat in order to reach the sloop at the Bar), advised him that we are sorry to observe the success the Ganims have had against the Raja of Ahmadabad; and although we did not apprehend they would come at once to excute their threatenings by putting everything to sword and fire, yet we had complied with part of his indent.

Trouble expected At the same time wrote to the Hon'ble the President and Council of Bombay to advise them of the message sent the 29th ultimo from Teg Bakht Khan, and that he apprehended from an other he has received from Damaji, the commanding officer of the Ganims in this district, they would not pay him any further acknowledgment in lieu of the out-rents; which would oblige him to come to an open rupture; which notice he gave the Dutch and French and all the other merchants. That we had on this emergency consulted the most conversant persons on these affairs, who advised us to continue carrying on the investment, as we have obtained long since a parwanah or leave from the Ganims to prosecute it without interruption; which order they don't think they would easily break.

Trade unsafe We also advised of our having dispatched the 30th ultimo the sloop to Cambay to bring down what goods may be ready in [*the*] warehouse, and of the letter the Chief received yesterday from Mr. Bidwell, a copy thereof we sent them enclosed with our answer thereto of this date; and that, in case the Governor came to an open rupture with the Ganims, under such constant uncertainty they may readily judge how unsafe it is carrying on any business at present, and how liable we are to accidents from continual skirmishes between the Ganims and the King's soldiers.

1735 *Surat, 26th November, 1735 (1734-35, S. F. 618)*
Henry Lowther to John Horne.

Parwanah useless In our respects of the 2nd instant we advised Your Honour &ca of the dispute that was likely to happen between the Ganims and this Government; and though we then resolved to continue carrying on the investment in hopes of the parwanah we had obtained would be sufficient to secure those goods from any harm, yet we could not help remarking how little dependence is to be had upon any engagements entered into with the Ganims, since they had firmly agreed to pay this Governor one hundred and sixty thousand Rupees annually in lieu of the out-rents, and now fall quite off from that engagement and would pay nothing; which gave room for the reflection we made of their perfidious proceedings in general words.

Surat, 12th December, 1735 (1734 -35, S. F. 618) 1735
Henry Lowther to John Horne.

Treaty

Lala Sadanda returned from Songarh and has adjusted the Governor's revenue for the ensuing year with the Ganims on the same terms as last year, and has also brought back with him Muhammad Husain, who has been obliged to pay about thirty thousand Rupees for his release.

Surat, 28th December, 1735 (1736, P. D. 9D) 1735
Surat to Bombay.

Peace

The Ganims and the Government are come to terms for the division of the out-rents of the lands; and it is said the Governor has accepted of a less sum than they paid him last year.

Surat, 22nd January, 1736 (1735-36, S. F. 619) 1736
Henry Lowther to John Horne.

Trade stopped

Our investment has for these few days been quite at a stop, that is such a part of it as is carried on in the out-parts, owing to a considerable party of the Ganims belonging to Umabai,[1] who are in this neighbourhood; and till they return, no business can be carried on in safety.

Surat, 22nd February, 1736 (1735-36, S. F. 619) 1736
James Hope[2] to John Horne.

A rival o Damaji

Yesterday a party of the Ganims, that are without, came very near the town-wall to plunder the people that had fled from the adjacent villages; which causing the Government's people to fire a gun from the town-wall on them, which, he said, killed five people; and the Government immediately dispatched the Bakhshi with some forces to attack them, when a small skirmish ensued, in which five or six of the Government people were wounded and about as many on the other side. This as yet has not caused any stop of provisions or anything else coming into the town, and we are in hopes, notwithstanding this little breach, means will be found to put a stop to anything further happening. These forces belong to Umabai's son, who is not satisfied with the adjustment his mother is making with Damaji.

Bombay, 28th February 1736 (1763, P. D., 9A) 1736
James Hope to John Horne.

Skirmish

That there had been a small skirmish between the Governor's people and the Gamins who are near the town; but, as the Ganims had not stopped provisions from coming into town, they did not apprehend that anything farther would happen.

Surat, 7th March, 1736 (1735-36, S. F. 619) 1736

Firman

No English translation of the royal firman of the late King Farukhsiyar [*1712-1719*] appearing in these registers, the following one was thought proper by the supervisor to be entered hereafter, whereto recourse can be had as occasion shall serve.

---

1 Umabai, the widow of the Senapati, had joined Damaji to avenge Pilaji's murder. From the letter dated 12th December, 1735, it is probable that Damaji was the commanding officer of the Maratha forces operating in Surat district.

2 James Hope, Chief at Surat.

Translate of the Surat firman.[1]

Privileges Know, all jagirdars, faujdars, karkuns, curodiz [?] rahdars, cuspadores, that are or ever shall be of the ports of Ahmadabad, Surat and Cambay, that His Majesty has been pleased in these good days, in which Mr. John Surman and Coja Saron, agents for the English Nation, represented that their merchandise was custom-free in all his ports, (except that of Surat) where it paid in the time of Shah Jahan two per cent., in the reign of Aurangzeb three and half per cent., and in the reign of Bahadur Shah two and a half per cent., which still continued; and that the Government of said Surat ill treated them and oppressed them, for which reason they had for three years past carried on no trade at that port; that in the Government of Bihar Orissa they paid no duties; and that in the kingdom of Bengal the said duties or customs were commuted into a present of three thousand Rupees annually paid by them; wherefore they petitioned that, as in other ports their customs were changed into annual presents, those of Surat should be granted them in the like manner; for which they promised the sum of ten thousand Rupees: His Majesty has been pleased to order that, in consideration of this promise of an annual sum of ten thousand Rupees, the same shall be accepted; that there shall be no trouble or impediment given them; and that all the merchandise, they shall have brought ashore by themselves or their agents, shall be suffered to pass without hindrance or vexation whatever; and that in whatsoever part any of their effects shall be robbed, there shall be all diligence and care to seize and punish the robbers, and the effects shall be redelivered to the English; and wherever they establish their factories, they shall be favoured and assisted in the sales and purchases of their merchandise; and if any merchant or other person whatever shall be their debtor, they shall be made to pay them in justice; and there shall be no wrong or injury suffered to be done them or those employed by them.

They have likewise represented that the Governors and their Diwans demanded the original firman and orders; by which means they suffered great trouble and vexation in delivering in the originals; wherefore they requested that their business might be ordered to be transacted by copies attested with the seal of the kazi, and that the said Diwans should not demand of them either the original firmans or Governor's orders. They have likewise represented that, whereas in the Island of Bombay the Portuguese coins were current, and that in Chinapatam [*Madras*] were coined moneys with His Majesty's stamp, they might have the same liberty of coinage and a mint at Bombay.

They likewise represented that the Hon'ble Company's servants, being their debtors, absented themselves; therefore they requested that it might be ordered that such might be seized and delivered to their Factors.

They likewise represented that the faujdars and others put hardship upon them by imposing diverse duties; wherefore they requested that His Majesty would please to give express orders that no trouble of any sort should be given them. Wherefore His Majesty has been pleased to order that the copies of a firman and Governors' orders attested with the kazi's seal shall be esteemed and received as authentic.

1 The Surat factors seem to have cherished the forlorn hope that this firman might induce Damaji and other Maratha leaders not to trouble them.

That in the Island of Bombay they may coin moneys with the stamp as in other places, that any of their servants, being their debtor and absenting himself, shall be seized and delivered to their Factors, and that no faujdars or others shall presume to molest or trouble them.

They have likewise represented that in Bengal, Bihar Orissa, there is a factory of the Hon'ble English Company; and as they might find it fitting to settle their factories in other places, they prayed that His Majesty would grant them the favour of space forty bighas of land for their building.

They likewise represented that, when their ships by misfortune of a storm or accident were lost upon the coasts of any of His Majesty's dominions, the Governors seized forcibly the effects of such ships, and some claimed a quarter part. His Majesty has been pleased to order that, as in other places, the English shall have ground granted them to build their factories upon, and that in the laskhar, as in other ports, they shall have liberty to carry on their trade, and having firmans of an ancient date for all possible favour to be shown them. His Majesty orders that all ships that shall be wrecked, their effects shall be taken care of, and returned them; and that in everything else their business shall be carried on according to the tenor of this firman without their being obliged to have new orders every year.

Surat, 20th March 1736 (1735-37, S. F. 622) 1736
James Hope to John Horne.

A new device

Our broker Jagannath and his whole tribe are gone out of the city and are encamped within the outer walls, as are generally other castes, in general, we suppose, to prevent the Ganims by such an appearance of people from making any attempt on the town. In the general confusion business is at a standstill.

Surat, 13th April, 1737 (1735-37, S. F. 622) 1737
James Hope to John Horne.

Marathas retire

The Ganims, who we advised Your Honour, etc. were encamped without this city and removed two miles farther, have since removed twenty miles farther off.

Bombay, 14th May, 1737 (1737, PD 10A) 1737
James Hope to John Horne.

Fear of Marathas

They [*the Chief and Council*] say they had been very pressing with Boman Patel for preparing the families of weavers for this Island; but he representing there was no cotton yarn provided to set them at work, and pretending that they were unwilling to come on account of the Marathas, they must defer getting them to us till after the rains.

Surat, 23rd May, 1737 (1736-37; S. F. 622). 1737
James Hope to John Horne.

Ahmadabad

Letters came in the 15th instant from the Dutch and others at Ahmadabad, advising that the Bhandari[1] had agreed to surrender that place to Momin Khan, but later letters [*state*] they were only treating about it.

---

1 Ratansing Bhandari, the deputy of Abhaising, refused to surrender Ahmadabad to Momin Khan, when the latter was appointed Viceroy of Gujarat. Thereupon Momin Khan made friends with Damaji and captured the city of Ahamadabad. The authority over the city was divided between the two confederates (*Gaz. Bar. State*, I, 447).

No. 3 QUARREL BETWEEN JAGANNATH LALDAS AND THE SURAT FACTORS (1737—1738)

THE following extracts from the *Surat Factory Diary* for 1737 deal almost exclusively with Jagannath Laldas and his brother Govindas. For four generations their family had been in the Company's service, whence Jagannath was dismissed probably towards the beginning of 1737, being indebted to the Company in the sum of £40,000. The honesty of the dismissed broker is not discussed here. *It is sufficient to state* that he was at least as honest as those by whom he was surrounded (*Gaz. Bom. Pres.* II, 112, note).

The extracts here given clearly evidence Damaji's growing power, in as much as: (a) the brokers' family under Damaji's protection were not interfered by those who were most anxious to confiscate their goods; (b) Teg Bakht Khan did not venture in any way to oppose Damaji; (c) and the English were as powerless as Teg Bakht Khan, and they ended by paying Damaji a large sum of money, so that their trade might not be interfered with.

When read from the standpoint of the Gaikwad's growing power, these extracts assume an historical importance which causes the money squabble between the Surat Factors and Jagannath Laldas to dwindle into comparative insignificance.

DOCUMENTS

1737 *Bombay, 23rd April, 1737* (*1737, P. D. 10A*)
James Hope to John Horne.

Brokers' family The Ganims also threaten to give them [*the Chief and Council*] all the hindrance they can, while Jagannath and Govindas are kept under confinement; and for these services, it is said, the late brokers have promised

them fifty thousand Rupees. They made complaint to the Governor of this interruption in carrying on their business; whereupon he sent a messenger to the Ganims, who returned with their promise that neither the English or any other of the merchants should meet with any molestation from them in future; since when, they [*the Chief and Council*] heard that Manurdas and Goculdas Patel were gone to Damaji (the commanding officer of the Ganims in those parts) from whom they expect relief; and our Gentlemen say that, according as their complaints are listened to by him or others as powerful, they may expect to continue in quiet or be disturbed in their trade; but they desire our orders how to act, in case their business continues to be interrupted, as they intimate that it will be a great disgrace to the English, namely to suffer such insults and their business to be stopped by the dependants of a discarded broker deeply indebted to their Masters; and they say the lenity that has been used towards that family has in some degree encouraged them and their followers to conceal their effects and accounts and thus endeavour to embarrass the Hon'ble Company's affairs; and they say the evil counsel, if not the example, of their pretended friends has had great influence with them; and Govindas assures the merchants that by their interest and solicitations in England our proceedings against them will be disapproved and strenuous orders be sent in their behalf by the shipping in August next. As to the brokers themselves, they [*the Chief and Council*] say they have our orders before them; but against their dependants, who molest them and prevent the currency of their business, they are at a loss how to preceed, lest they bring on themselves greater troubles, before they receive our orders; and though they are unwilling to propose anything that may divert a part of our force at this juncture, yet they hint that the appearance of a galley or a Europe ship at the Bar (before the merchants' ships return from the Red Sea) would be the most effectual step for bringing them to reason, as not only the Government but the merchants in general would then heartily interfere and compel the late brokers to surrender their books and effects and finally adjust with their creditors. They should also then have an opportunity to show a just resentment at the behaviour of the Ganim shroff, who insolently took upon him the protection of Jagannath's wife, and late conducted her out of the town with her jewels and movables of value. Whether he may be said to be answerable for what was so carried away, they leave to us; but they think some notice should be taken thereof, lest the discharging of a servant, who is a debtor to the Company, be thought a sufficient reason to make off with their effects, take the protection of those that will give it them, and oppose and obstruct their commerce, thinking from a neglect in the present case they have not power to chastise them.

Surat, 4th June, 1737 (1735-37, S. F. 622)
James Hope to John Horne.

The Ganims, to whom we informed Your Honour, etc. a messenger was gone out from this Governor to complain of the insult offered him by their interrupting of the trade of the place and seizing of the Parsis etc. made little scruple in granting their usual passport to the inhabitants in general, and promised that neither the English nor any other

should meet with the least molestation for the future; since which it is reported that Manurdas and Goculdas Patel are gone to Damaji at Songarh about thirty miles distant in the way to Aurangbad, from whom they expect relief; and according as their complaint is heard by him or others as powerful, we may hope to continue in quiet, or be disturbed in the free exercise of our commerce.

Ahmadabad The surrender of Ahmadabad to Momin Khan is no longer disputed, whose officers took possession the 26th ultimo[1]; and the same evening the Mar Raja's people marched out; which change gives the merchants of this city great hopes that its trade will soon be revived; and we shall be glad of the opportunity to confirm hereafter such agreeable news.

1737 *Surat, 28th June, 1737 (1735-37, S. F. 622)*
James Hope to John Horne.

Sale disturbed Since our last we have been chiefly employed in selling the late brokers' goods and effects at public outcry, which in general went off at extraordinary prices, the whole (exclusive of the jewels which we propose to sell in a day or two) amounting to about Rs. 27,000, as near as we can compute; but during this sale Lall Domini, a noted incendiary and an agent of that family, was very industrious to interrupt us by preventing the merchants and others from being present; who, finding his advice had little effect, on the second day of the sale caused an anonymous letter to be dropped near the Factory, directed to Lalli Sesunker [*Lalji Shankar*?] and Maneckji, warning [*them*] of the ill consequences that might attend their interfering therein; and a day or two after, a paper in the Gentoo language was affixed on our notification at the Factory gate to this purport that our broker robbed the house of Laldas and brought away boxes of jewels and other things to the amount of several lakhs; the most valuable of which he had kept to himself, and delivered the remainder only to us; accusing him also of buying things at one fourth part of their value; all which he must expect to answer for.

These libels, some inform us, are the handwriting of Lall Domini; and from our knowledge of him we believe there is not another in this city that would have dared to have offered us so gross an affront. We immediately complained thereof to the Governor, demanding justice against the author, or that he would give us leave to take our own satisfaction for the abuse; but threatening letters coming in from Damaji, to whom we informed Your Honour, etc. Manurdas and Goculdas Patel were gone, the Governor desired we would have a little patience; and nothing has been done therein; and considering how strict our Hon'ble Masters' orders are forbidding us to engage in any disputes without Your Honour &ca's. consent first had, we are very loth to undertake the punishing that insolent fellow. Yet if the Government shall continue to deny us the satisfaction we require, we hope Your Honour, etc. will not

1 Watson states that Ahmadabad was captured by Momin Khan in 1738. From the Surat Diary it is clear that 1737 is the correct date, which is also given by Grant Duff (*History of the Mahrattas*, I. 465), who states that the city was captured on the 20th May, 1737. The Bombay scribe wrote: the 26th May. Did Grant Duff misread 20 instead of 26, or did the Bombay copyist write 26 instead of 20?

disapprove of our resenting the injury in the manner it deserves; for, unless proper notice is taken of this and even the least insult, our forbearance will encourage every idle person to enter into cabals to embarrass the Hon'ble Company's affairs and bring our nation into the utmost contempt and derision; and at length our residence here will be of little importance.

When Damaji's letters came in for the Governor per Diwan, the Chief also received one from him, a copy whereof goes enclosed for Your Honour &ca's. notice; and although he threatens to give disturbance to this place, if we will not release the two brothers, deliver back their goods and restore that family to the broker's office, we are not under any apprehensions that he will put his threats in execution, believing that from the answers that are gone he will not longer countenance such unreasonable complaints. *Damaji's letter*

Bombay, 10th July, 1737 (1737, P. D. 10B) 1737
James Hope to John Horne.

Received a letter[1] from the Chief and Factors at Surat, dated the 27th ultimo, advising that they have sold sundry goods and effects of the late brokers, which went off at very good prices, the whole amounting to about twenty-seven thousand Rupees; but that during the sale Lall Domini, a noted incendiary and an agent of the late brokers' family, had done his endeavours to prevent the merchants coming to the sale; and finding himself disappointed caused an anonymous letter to be dropped near the Factory directed to [*Lalji Shankar*] and Maneckji, warning them of the ill consequences that might attend their interfering therein; and a paper was affixed on their notification at the Factory gate to the following purport, " That the broker had robbed the house of Laldas, and brought away boxes or jewels and other things to the value of several lakhs, the most valuable of which he had kept for himself, and delivered only the remainder to the Chief and Factors; that he also bought things at one-fourth part of their value; all which he must expect to answer for." The Gentlemen say some people inform them these libels are the handwriting of Lall Domini, and they immediately complained of the insult to the Governor and demanded justice, or that he would gave them leave to take their own satisfaction; but threatening letters that instant coming in from Damaji, the Governor desired them to have patience; and nothing has been done; but they observe that, unless proper notice is taken of this and even the least insult, our nation will be brought into contempt and derision. The Chief has received a letter from Damaji, threatening to give disturbance to the place, unless the late brokers are released and restored to their office, and all their goods delivered back; but from the answer sent him they are not apprehensive that he will put his threats in execution. *Sale disturbed* *Damaji's threats*

That it is talked the Ganims design to build a fortification in order to command that river; which should they set about, the Government will apply for our assistance against them. The Gentlemen, therefore, desire us to furnish them, with a proper answer in this case.

1 This letter is partly a repetition, but it contains an additional detail, because it specifies Damaji's threatening attitude.

1737 *Bombay, 12th July, 1737 (1737, P. D. 10B)*
At a Consultation.

Resolution As to the Ganims' intentions of building a redoubt on the river, they must represent to the Governor the ill consequences that will attend the trade of the city if such a thing be permitted; and if that will not induce him to prevent it, they must desire he will excuse our interfering, as we have other more pressing occasions to employ our sea-force, besides the unreasonableness of his expectation that we should be at any trouble or expense in defending his port.

1737 *Surat, 1st July, 1737 (1737-38, S. F. 624)*
James Hope to John Horne.

Damaji interferes In our address of the 19th instant we advised Your Honour, etc. of the threatening letters then come in from Damaji in behalf of the late brokers; which obliged this Governor to forbear giving us the satisfaction we required; and soon after its dispatch the Chief received a second letter in somewhat a milder strain, from whence we believed we should not have heard more of it. But on the 22nd instant Manurdas Laldas sent in seventeen letters directed to the principal merchants, setting forth their fidelity to the Hon'ble Company and complaining of the injustice we have done them by robbing their house and carrying away goods to the amount of several lakhs, thereby committing such a robbery or zulm as had not been heard of in the memory of man; submitting their case to the merchants who under God had authority to examine thereinto; and that, as he had writings under the Company's hands, from their examination it would appear whether the Hon'ble Company were indebted to them, or they to the Hon'ble Company.

In this he is supported by Damaji, who the next day also wrote to this Governor and sent circular letters to the Dutch, French and Portuguese and other principal merchants of this city, acquainting them that a Europe ship was arrived at Bombay, on which a person was come to enquire into our proceedings against the brokers; and that for our justification we were getting the merchants to sign a certificate that what we had done was with Govindas's consent; which he warned them against, threatening, if they did grant one, to seek revenge.

Surat views Your Honour and Council may be pleased to observe from this that, as they will not acknowledge themselves indebted to the Hon'ble Company, far less can it be thought that they will quit their pretended claim on them for the adjustment of the Child's family account; and on the other hand it appears plain that they are so far from thinking that any orders are come in their disfavour that they have assured Damaji that a person is come abroad purposely to enquire into our conduct, and state their accounts in the manner they would have them; which is laying a foundation for infinite trouble to be given us and is a sufficient reason for the justice we demand of this Government being delayed.

It is not very material to say whether Damaji is influenced by any present Manurdas may have made, or whether that he is glad of the opportunity to quarrel with this Government that he thus espouses the late brokers against us. However it has alarmed this Government as well as the merchants: some in that it may occasion a general stop-

page to trade, and others in that they have been supporting that family against us, and may now suffer by their imprudence. We have no less reason to be alarmed, and we must depend upon Your Honour, etc. to take care of us.

Surat, 1st July, 1737 (*1737, P. D. 10B*) 1737
James Hope to John Horne.

That nothing has been left undone to induce the Government to oblige the late brokers to make a fair surrender of their books and the remainder of their effects; but the Governor is so timorous that little effectual is to be expected from him till some force appears at the Bar, since the letters that come in from Damaji furnish him with a sufficient plea to evade doing them justice; and the reports which are oftentimes raised by the brokers' agents being more prevalent with many people there than anything they can say to the contrary, occasions some interruption and delay to the business in hand. *T. B. Khan's fear*

But, as the Chief now informs the President of a person at Bombay, who has kept a large correspondence that may be highly prejudicial to the Hon'ble Company's affairs and particularly to the adjustment of the late brokers' accounts, an exemplary punishment given him might deter others from the like practice. They promise to make the best use of the powers we have given them, when the ships come to the Bar; and if in the meantime Damaji can be prevailed on to forbear espousing the late brokers, the Governor, they say, will be brought readily to give them satisfaction. As Jagannath refuses to give any direct answer concerning the debts due to his family from some of the dependants of the Government, which were to be cleared by an annual allowance for their services, they will (with our permission when their late books are adjusted) settle that point in the most equitable manner; that for the reasons before given they don't think it prudent to proceed to call the brokers' debtors to a strict account till they have some force to countenance their proceedings; but they will forthwith appoint a person to recover what is outstanding at Delhi, though they wish we had settled the gratuity or salary the person must have, as nothing of that kind can be done without an expense. *Surat views*

Bombay, 12th August, 1737 (*1737, P. D. 10B*) 1737
James Hope to John Horne.

Received a letter from the Chief and Factors at Surat, dated the 29th July, advising that since the dispatch of their last the Chief had received letters from Damaji wrote in somewhat a milder strain than his first. But on the 22nd, Manurdas sent in seventeen letters directed to the principal merchants, setting forth the fidelity of the late brokers to the Company and complaining of the injustice done them in taking goods out of their house to the amount of several lakhs, which he terms such a robbery as had not been heard of in the memory of man, submitting their case to the merchants; that, as he had writings from the Company, from their examination it would appear who were the debtors, the Company or his family. *Jagannath defended*

That Damaji at the same time sent letters to the Governor, the Europeans and other merchants, acquainting them that a Europe ship was

arrived at Bombay, on whom a person was come to enquire into the proceedings against the late brokers, and that the Gentlemen were getting the merchants to sign a certificate that what they had done was with Govindas's consent; which he warned them against and threatened, if they did, to seek revenge.

On which the Gentlemen observe that, as the late brokers will not acknowledge themselves indebted to the Company, far less can it be thought they will quit their pretended claim on them for the adjustment of the Child's family account; and they say that President Phipps and Council having given Laldas a discharge on passing his bond for Rupees one hundred sixty thousand two hundred and six, two quarters and forty-four reas as the balance due to the Hon'ble Company for their purchase of the Child's family demands upon him, without taking a counterpart, was an unfair and unprecedented transaction, which together with the repeated promises of some of the Hon'ble Company's late servants to get that family redress has occasioned their being threatened and likely to be embroiled on all sides.

That the merchants have by the Governor's orders returned proper answers to the before-mentioned letters, purporting that our demands were just; yet if Manurdas had any writing under the hands of the English, as he pretended, that he should either send it or come and adjust their accounts; that the demanding a certificate was false; but that, if such a thing had been tendered to any of them, they should write so; and the Governor himself added that, if Damaji would not give credit to what he wrote, he desired he might not be farther troubled about such worthless people.

T. B. Khan That the 25th the Chief waited on the Governor to remonstrate our grievances and demand redress, who promised full satisfaction at a convenient juncture; but, while they and we are threatened from Court as well as by the Ganims, and besides that Momin Khan had resolved upon coming to Surat after the rains, the Governor desired that the brokers' affairs might be dropped for some time, concluding with a promise of gratifying us in every thing we had or should ask for concluding of the late brokers' affairs and the better carrying on of our business in future.

These promises, they soon found, served to introduce a request for our assistance, not only to prevent the Ganims from fortifying on the river, but to defend the Bar against them and Momin Khan, in case either of them should attempt to distress the city by any naval armaments they might set forth from Gogo or Cambay (the Ganims having been some time in possession of the former).

And our Gentlemen, not to disgust them, promised to write to us for orders on this occasion; telling them that, if the other Europeans and the rest of the merchants would join and make it one common cause, they did not doubt but we would permit them to come into the confederacy; and though they are sensible of the occasion we have to employ our force otherways, yet as the Government seem resolved to break with the Ganims, unless Damaji will give up the cause of the late brokers, they will ever be upbraiding the Chief, etc. that they have quarrelled on our account, and they shall have no quiet until we gratify them.

They say that, if Momin Khan should come against the place, they shall be very careful to learn whether he does it by authority from the King, lest by showing a disobedience to the King's orders they bring our firmans in question. In case of any tumult or disturbance happening they say they are but ill provided; and therefore they indented for sundry stores and desire we will supply them in any other manner we think suitable to their present circumstances; that, though their peons are not much to be depended on, yet with them they have been obliged to keep a strict watch on a report that was spread that the Ganims, assisted by some in town, designed to break through their factory-wall to take away Govindas; and though this design has not been executed, yet those people are not sparing of their threats against the brokers, and some of them for the recovery of the small part of the late brokers' effects, that have been made sale of; and whatever ill turn our affairs may take, they say, they may safely impute it to the evil council given to Laldas's sons by some of those who are gone to England; and they take occasion hereupon to remark the different behaviour of the Rustam family when they were displaced. *Situation at Surat*

Surat, 6th August, 1737 (1737-38, S. F. 624) 1737
James Hope to John Horne.

In due time, if we are not interrupted by Damaji, who continues to threaten us and our dependants, especially the broker and Lalla Si Sancar, as Your Honour, etc. may please to observe from the copy of his last letter to them, which goes herewith and came enclosed in one to the Chief. The late brokers and their advisers had and still have other things in view; and Damaji is glad of the opportunity of filling his own coffers by depriving this Governor of the revenues due to him. *Damaji*

As Your Honour, etc. are pleased to repeat your desire to have the sale of jewels deferred a little longer, we shall comply therewith; yet if the heavy rains had not prevented the merchants and others from meeting, we should have disposed of them; and we should now choose to do it, because every such delay is by some taken to be the effect of our fears in compliance with Damaji's threats; and on the other hand we may venture to assure Your Honour, etc. that, as long as Damaji appears on behalf of the late brokers, they or their friends will be so far from redeeming them or give you any other satisfaction; that they expect Damaji will so distress this place and raise so great a clamour against the English that we shall either to obliged to quit the place, if we may be permitted so to, or surrender whatsoever we have got belonging to them. *Sale postponed*

These measures, it is said, were concerted by Jagannath and Damaji before the former took a resolution to go to Bombay; and it is also confidently reported that since his confinement he or his friends have by the Brahmans frequently corresponded with his brother at Songarh, directed him what steps to take, and by all means to press Damaji, etc. to support the family against us; and Your Honour must not be surprised if you heard of some messenger coming into town from Court to demand restitution in behalf of the late brokers. We have some reason to believe such a thing is in agitation; and if this Governor should either be awed by the threats of Damaji or the threats he may receive from *Jagannath*

Court, Your Honour, etc. cannot be long in determining what will be the consequence thereof.

1737 *Bombay, 15th August, 1737 (1737, P. D. 10B)*
At a Consultation.

Resolution Read the letter from Surat of the 29th July, received the 12th instant, as per extract preceeding this Consultation.

And considering of that part of their letter which sets forth the apprehensions the Governor is under on account of the Ganims, and that he desires our assistance against them, we are very sensible of the many other services for which we have room to apprehend we shall want our force; yet as the Surat Governor will plead that he quarrels with the Ganims purely on our account, we are afraid he will not permit us to remain in quietness, unless we comply with his request; and if the other Europeans and merchants can be prevailed upon to enter into the confederacy, we cannot well refuse; in this case, therefore, it is agreed that we give the Gentlemen permission to join in defence of the city, and that we dispatch the Rose Galley to the Bar as soon as she can be got in readiness with a detachment of two serjeants, two corporals and twenty-four European soldiers, any part of whom the Gentlemen may land, if they find it necessary so to do for the defence of the Factory.

1737 *Bombay, 25th August, 1737, (1737, P. D. 10B)*
James Hope to John Horne.

Damaji interferes One from the Chief and Factors at Surat, dated the 7th instant, acknowledging the receipt of ours of the 14th ultimo and advising that Damaji had actually stopped one hundred and five cargos of dutties of the investment, which lay ready at Navsari; and they have little hopes of sending us any chintzes this year; that he still continues his threats against them and the dependants of the Factory, especially the broker and Lalla Si Sanker; but they say they are so far from thinking they ought to make any concessions or part with anything in their possession belonging to the late brokers on account of such threatenings, that we need not have cautioned them in that respect; and the Chief in answer to a letter be received from Damaji declared that the two brothers on failure of other means shall answer in their persons for the damages that may accrue to the Hon'ble Company or other servants on account of the steps taken to recover Laldas's debt; that the English would give up nothing that was their due; and that the shortest way to make all parties easy was for him or some other of the brokers' friends to pay their debt, which at a proper time could be made to appear by accounts and bonds under their hands. *Factors' views* That agreeable to our intimation they should defer the sale of the late brokers' jewels, though they say every such delay is by some construed as the effect of their fears; and they add that, as long as Damaji appears on behalf of the late brokers, they or their friends will be so far from redeeming them; that they expect Damaji will so distress the place and raise so great a clamour against the English that they shall be obliged to quit the place or surrender the effects belonging to them; and it is said those measures were concerted by Jagannath and Damaji before the former took a resolution to go to Bombay; and he has now by his friends a frequent correspondence with his brother at Songarh;

and the Gentlemen say they have some reason to expect a messenger will be sent from Court to demand restitution in behalf of the late brokers; and if the Governor should be awed by any orders he may receive or by Damaji's threats, we cannot be long in determining what will be the consequences. That at present the Governor gives them hopes he will do them justice; but should they absolutely refuse to assist him against the Ganims, in case they proceed to stop up the port, the clamour of the multitude against them would be very great, when provisions came to be scarce and dear, and the justice of our demands or any other reasons will little avail towards the quieting of an enraged and desperate people; and they now propose that we either accept of the promises the Governor has made to do our Employers justice at a convenient opportunity, and in some measure to comply with his request to assist him against the Ganims by sea, or that we forthwith send a proper force to the Bar and empower them to act by themselves, some of them retiring on board, and not permitting of any trade till they have got full satisfaction for the Hon'ble Company. The last they esteem the most effectual, though they observe it will appear very odd after the fair promises the Governor has made to proceed to hostilities and stop the trade of the port.

Surat, 8th September, 1737 (1737, *P. D.* 10*B*) 1737
James Hope to John Horne.

Factors' requests

That, notwithstanding their own and the merchants' representation of their own and application to Damaji, they have not been able to prevail on him to contradict the orders he had given for detaining our investment at Navsari. They intimate that, unless we will permit of their applying to the Government for giving Govindas corporal punishment (which is the custom of the country) they have little hopes of bringing him to any reasonable composition, or of preventing Manurdas carrying on schemes for embarrassing the Hon'ble Company's affairs, which the mild treatment that has been shown his brothers under confinement encourages him in; and they are so far from being apprehensive the family's having wherewithal to bribe the Darbar tribe that it is as much as they can do to keep Damaji firm in their interest, and again urge the stopping the Bar as a necessary point to bring matters to a conclusion.

Bombay, 10th September, 1737 (1737, P. D. 10B) 1737
At a Consultation.

Proposals rejected

The proposal made by the Gentlemen at Surat for stopping up the Bar in order to oblige the Governor to pass a conclusion to the late brokers' affairs being taken into consideration, it is observed that the Gentlemen repeatedly tell us that both the Government and merchants are well inclined towards us, and that they have done and will do us all the service in their power on this occasion. Stopping the Bar, therefore, still appears an unnecessary expedient in regard to them, and our interrupting the trade of the city would be a very ill return for the assistance they have given us; nor is it to be supposed that our taking this step would induce Manurdas to decline his attempts of embroiling our Hon'ble Masters' affairs, or that Damaji would be influenced thereby to withdraw his protection from the family; and if such an expedient should be judged eligible, we apprehend it to be a very improper time to come to such a resolution.

1737 *Surat, 17th September, 1737 (1737, P. D. 10B)*
Surat to the President at Bombay.

Damaji That the business of their investment goes on as briskly as can be expected, considering the disputes they are engaged in on account of the late brokers; and they have some hopes given them that Damaji will countermand the orders for hindering the goods from coming in, and in such case they shall be able to make the chintzes and send us a good part of the investment by the end of this month, having seventy bales now ready packed.

1737 *Bombay, 13th October, 1737 (1737, P. D. 10B)*
The Chief at Surat to the President at Bombay.

Factors' apology By these vessels received a letter from the Chief and Factors, dated the 10th instant, in answer to ours of the 21st ultimo, wherein they urge the many reasons that induced them to propose stopping the Bar; and they say many concurring circumstances have intervened to convince them that they did not err in doing it; that the behaviour of the Government, while they were under apprehensions from Damaji and Momin Khan and expected our assistance, was different from the present, our gentlemen, saying they had their own interest only in view; for, on matters being adjusted with Damaji, every merchant had a parwanah for the free exercise of his trade, while our goods were detained.

In answer to our observation that stopping the port would enrage the merchants without influencing Damaji or Manurdas they say the first was a point little regarded, when the merchants had a great power in the city; but now they are without a head, and dare not interpose without assurances of our protecting them afterwards from the Government; and whether it would give a favourable turn to their affairs without, they will not say, though Damaji by stopping the investment has done them as much detriment as he well can.

1737 *Surat, 2nd November, 1737 (1737, P. D. 10B)*
James Hope to John Horne.

Trade disturbed It is confidently said in town that the Ganims in hopes of drawing a greater trade to Jambusar have forbidden the exportation of indigo; which has raised the price of blue goods since the sale of the byrampauts[1]; and there being but little indigo in town, the merchants are making red byrams instead of blue for the Red Sea, etc.; but the Gentlemen hope the prohibition will be taken off before we set on foot a new investment, otherwise they are afraid the undertakers will make it a plea to enhance the price of all the blue goods.

1738 *Bombay, 2nd March, 1738 (1738, P. D. 11A)*
At a Consultation.

Jagannath But, as orders are now come from Court to the Government to oblige the late brokers to pay their debt to the Hon'ble Company, and which they at present seem disposed to comply with, it is agreed that we send Jagannath to the Bar on board the Princess Caroline Galley, where he will have opportunities of consulting his friends and be able with some certainty to make his proposals for satisfying our Hon'ble Masters.

---

1 Byrampaut or byramee, a kind of cotton stuff, *Hobson-Jobson*.

Bombay, 6th March, 1738 (1736, P. D. 11A) 1738
Surat to Bombay.

Trade disturbed

We received a letter from the Chief and Factors, dated the 29th ultimo, advising that the Marathas having put a stop to the exportation of grain from Versal, prevents the Gentlemen purchasing more of that article; but they desire to know whether they shall buy rice if any should be brought on the Bengal shipping.

Bombay, 29th April, 1738 (1738, P. D. 11A) 1738
Letter from Surat.

Jagannath

We received a letter from the Chief and Factors, dated the 17th, acknowledging the receipt of ours of the 10th and giving us the disagreeable advice that Jagannath had made his escape from on board the Sloop in the river the 15th instant.

They apprehend this unhappy accident may bring great trouble on the settlement, if any of the Country Powers are inclined to listen to what Jagannath may relate to them.

Bombay, 26th May, 1738 (1738, P. D. 11A) 1738
At a Consultation.

Insolent letter

The President acquaints the Board that a few days ago he received a letter from Mr. Lambton, who says that Damaji (the head-officer of the Ganims) through his brother had wrote him a very insolent letter, and that he was apprehensive the Ganims would stop the investment and occasion what farther hindrance they could to the Hon'ble Company's affairs, and that Jagannath is determined to give us all the trouble he can.

Bombay, 6th June, 1738 (1738, P. D. 11A) 1738
Letter from Surat.

Jagannath

We received a letter from the Chief and Factors from Surat, dated the 26th ultimo. Jagannath is said to be at Songarh under the protection of Damaji; but what his designs are, they do not yet learn.

Bombay, 18th August, 1738 (1738, P. D. 11A) 1738
At a Consultation.

Paying the price

Mr. Lambton also writes that it had been intimated to him that the Ganims might be prevailed on to deliver Jagannath into our hands upon our allowing them a quarter part of what may be recovered by their means; which being taken into consideration, it is not to be hoped that the late brokers' affairs can be brought to any conclusion while Jagannath is out of our power; and we think we need not scruple to gratify the Ganims in that manner, as whatever we recover by their assistance will be so much more than we could otherwise expect; but the Gentlemen must explain to them that they are to have no part of what is already or shall hereafter be recovered by means of the Surat Government; but that upon the Ganims delivering Jagannath to us we will engage to give them one quarter part of what we receive through their assistance from without the town.

Ordered that a letter to this purport be prepared for Surat.

1738 *Bombay, 20th August, 1738 (1738-39, S. F. 627)*
John Horne to John Lambton.[1]

Bombay bargains The President has communicated to us the substance of a letter wrote him by the Chief since the date of your last general advices, acquainting him of some intimations he [*the Chief*] had received that the Ganims would deliver up Jagannath on our engaging to allow them one quarter part of such money or effects, as may hereafter to be put into our possession by their means, belonging to the late brokers. We have maturely considered this proposal; and being of opinion that the late brokers' affairs cannot be brought to any good conclusion without Jagannath being in our hands, and that whatever we get in our possession of by means of the Ganims will be more than we could expect without consenting to gratify them, we do permit you to improve the hints you have received and endeavour to agree with the Ganims on the above said terms (if better cannot be procured) to deliver Jagannath into your hands; and let your transactions be carried on, and the agreement made with the utmost privacy, lest the Surat Government upon getting notice thereof may be backward in their assistance and pretend to expect to be gratified after the same manner.

We choose this method of gratifying the Ganims (rather than with a sum certain) because we shall be always sure of the benefit of their assistance before they are paid for it, whereas, if we give them a sum in hand, they might possibly deliver Jagannath to us, but we much doubt whether we should afterwards come to the possession of any of the family effects by their assistance without a further consideration. But you must observe to make no promises or engagements that may be binding on your side until Jagannath be delivered into your hands; and you must explain to them that they are to have no part of the money that is recovered already, or shall hereafter be recovered through the assistance of the Surat Government, but only what the Ganims themselves actually secure and put into your possession.

1738 *Bombay, 23rd August, 1738 (1738, P. D. 11B)*
Letter from Surat.

Buying off Damaji Received a letter from the Chief and Factors of Surat, dated the 17th August.

They advise that they have accommodated matters with the Ganims, by which they are relieved from much anxiety and care in the performance of their investments; but the charge, they say, has been great, the broker having given among the chief officers seven thousand Rupees, besides sixteen hundred among the under-officers for the release of the goods they detained last year; which latter sum was carried to that investment; and they have now got the Ganims' parwanah for the free exercise of their trade and commerce. They say that the threatening messages sent them by the Ganims last year and the detention of the goods of the investment were doubtless occasioned by the ill offices of Manurdas Laldas and the friends of the late brokers, and would have had much worse consequences, if Damaji, etc. had not been thus bought off; and as no business can be transacted without the consent of those

1 John Lambton, Chief at Surat.

people, they hope the money paid will not be esteemed ill laid out, more especially as the charge to keep them in temper for the future may not now exceed five or six hundred Rupees a year to be given them in some Europe curiosities.

Bombay, 30th September, 1738 (1738, P. D. 11B) 1738
Letter from Surat reconsidered.

Their letter of the 12th August being reperused and taken into consideration, that part of it which advises of the sums paid by the broker to the Ganims for clearing the Hon'ble Company's goods and preventing our business being interrupted by them, as well as what was disbursed for obtaining the orders from Court to the Governor in our favour for obliging the Sidis and late brokers to pay their debts, the whole amounting to Rupees ten thousand, four hundred, as by the following account, *viz.* *Tribute or present*

Given to	Damaji	..3,000	0	0
	Devaji	..2,000	0	0
	Madhaji Govind, the Diwan	..1,000	0	0
	Essaji Faujdar	..1,000	0	0
	Bhagvan Pandit	.. 250	0	0
	Baboohoy Bakhshi ..	.. 250	0	0
	Madhowjee Munshi ..	.. 150	0	0
	Moropant, Devaji's Diwan	.. 150	0	0
	Gangaji at Navsari ..	.. 500	0	0
	Sundry servants, etc. ..	.. 300	0	0
Amount given to the Ganim officers		..8,600	0	0
Expenses in procuring orders from Court for recovering the brokers and Sidi's debts		..1,800	0	0
	Rupees	.. 10,400	0	0

The Gentlemen assure us that to the amount of fifty thousand Rupees worth of goods were actually seized last season by the Ganims, who threatened to sell them at Songarh ; whereupon they directed the broker to endeavour underhand to obtain leave for their being brought into town ; which was effected by means of some of the under-officers for sixteen hundred Rupees; and Damaji, the chief officer, and others in power were to have had five thousand Rupees more ; but their affairs calling them away prevented the agreement being made last season ; but this year they renewed their demands, when the broker, for the sake of carrying on the Hon'ble Company's investments without interruptions from those people, was obliged to gratify them on the easiest terms he could ; and he declared he paid them seven thousand Rupees over and above the gratuity to the under-officers the year before.

It is to be observed that by the contracts for many years past made [illegible] with the brokers for the investments the risk of fire, robbers, etc. is to be run by our Hon'ble Masters ; and considering that the Ganims had last year detained so large a quantity of goods and would no doubt practise the like till some agreement was made, we don't think the sum given by the broker (though large) ill laid out, especially as the [illegible]

men tell us the expense of keeping the Ganims in temper hereafter may not exceed five or six hundred Rupees per annum.

Expenses However, as the private trade of the English in general as well as the Hon'ble Company will, we hope, reap some benefit by the parwanahs (or orders) given by the Ganims to all their officers about Surat not to give any hindrance to the English business, we think the whole charges ought not to fall upon the Hon'ble Company, though it is reasonable that they should bear a part ; and debating what sum to allow the broker, it is agreed that the whole expenses be equally borne between the Hon'ble Company and him, deducting from the sum allowed him the sixteen hundred Rupees already charged to the last investment, when there will remain three thousand six hundred Rupees to be paid him now.

1738 *Bombay Castle, 4th October, 1738 (1738-39, S. F. 627)*
John Horne to John Lambton.

Sharing expenses On reperusing your letter of the 17th August and examining the account of the money disbursed by Maneckji to the Ganims on account of the investment and the expenses of procuring the orders from Court in our favour, and it appearing in the contract that for many years past our Hon'ble Masters are answerable for all losses by fire, robbers, etc. that shall happen to the goods, and to the amount of fifty thousand Rupees having been obtained by the Ganims last year, the release of which was procured on the promise of paying them a sum of money, we have consented to allow Maneckji half the expenses he has been at for the services, amounting to Rupees five thousand two hundred, in part of which sixteen hundred Rupees have already been charged to last year's investment ; the remaining three thousand six hundred Rupees you are, therefore, to make good to him, carrying a proportion thereof to the investment and the rest to charges extraordinary.

As we hope the private trade will benefit under our Hon'ble Masters' protection by thus removing the obstacles it used to meet with from the Ganims, we are persuaded that Maneckji will be well satisfied with what we have allowed him ; and we are the rather induced to permit so much of this expense to be borne by our Hon'ble Masters, as you tell us that the charge of keeping the Ganims in temper for the future will not exceed five or six hundred Rupees per annum, within which bounds you must endeavour to keep it.

1738 *Bombay, 3rd November, 1738 (1738-39, S. F. 627)*
Letter from Surat.

Maneckji The last Surat letter is now reperused ; but, as by private advices we learn that Maneckji Nowroji is preparing to come hither to settle the account of the money he has disbursed to the Ganims, etc. and also concerning the vakilship, the answering that part of their letter is unnecessary, but the Secretary is ordered to prepare the needful reply concerning other matters.

1738 *Bombay, 26th November, 1738 (1738-39, S. F. 726)*
At a Consultation.

Accounts settled The account given in by Maneckji of money disbursed to the Ganims for obtaining the release of the goods they had stopped and to prevent

their giving further interruption in our business, the particulars of which are noted in our consultation of the 30th September, is then taken into consideration; when Maneckji, acquainting the Board that Mr. Hope knew everything that passed on that occasion and referring to him for a particular account thereof, Mr. James Hope was sent for; and being called in and told the occasion, he affirms that he was present with Mr. Lambton when Maneckji was ordered (on the Ganims stopping a parcel of goods to the amount of fifty thousand Rupees and threats to sell them at Songarh) to get them cleared as cheap as possible and to make the best terms he could with the Ganims, that our business might go on currently hereafter, when Maneckji told them be believed it would cost about five thousand Rupees to gratify the head-officers, which he accordingly promised to pay; but at that time nothing further was done than clearing the goods the Ganims had detained, which cost sixteen hundred Rupees to the under-officers, and was charged on last year's investment. The Ganims this year signifying their expectations of being gratified, Maneckji sent his people to settle the terms with them; but they flew from their former agreement, and as Maneckji assured Mr. Lambton, and he considering what had happened last year and having no room to doubt but the Ganims would practise the same till they were gratified, they thought is necessary to make the Ganims easy, and Maneckji was ordered to do it on the terms they demanded, if they could not be brought to accept of less; but Mr. Lambton told him he must bear some part of the expense as well as the Company, and that the whole affair should be laid before us for our determination; and Mr. Hope adds that he really believes Maneckji paid seven thousand Rupees or more in making up matters with the Ganims.

Maneckji acknowledges Mr. Lambton told him he must expect to bear some part of this charge, and says he should not have refused one or two thousand Rupees, had he continued in his employ of broker; but that now he cannot afford any such loss, and as the money was paid by him solely for the Hon'ble Company's service and by the permission and order of their Chief at Surat, he thinks he has a fair and just title to the whole; which he, therefore, hopes we will order to be paid him.

The Board, debating hereupon, think we cannot reasonably expect Maneckji should bear any part of said expense, as it appears by the declaration of Mr. Hope that Mr. Lambton ordered him to make the Ganims easy on the best terms he could, after Maneckji had acquainted him they insisted on six or seven thousand Rupees; and though it is a considerable expense, yet the resolution the Ganims had taken to stop our goods and hinder our business, rendered the submitting to absolutely necessary; and as the charge of keeping the Ganims in temper hereafter may not amount to above five or six hundred Rupees per annum, the Gentlemen hope this money will not be esteemed ill laid out.

For all which reasons it is agreed that we allow Maneckji the amount of these expenses, being Rupees seven thousand; but Mr. Hope not being certain whether Mr. Lambton acquiesced in his paying six or seven thousand, Maneckji now declares he will refund one thousand Rupees, if the Hon'ble Company are pleased so to order, though he solemnly affirms he paid above seven thousand Rupees; which he will clearly prove whenever he may be called upon.

No. 4. MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION (1740—1746)

UNDER this heading are grouped various events, most of them in the nature of disconnected occurrences, either directly or indirectly dealing with Damaji. Some of these events relate to Damaji's own activities, others refer to the doings of Rangoji and Devaji Takapir, respectively Damaji's deputy and his lieutenant. In several instances mention is made of the trading difficulties which the English Factors experienced at Surat, Cambay, Broach and elsewhere, and for which Damaji and his officers were mostly responsible. An insight may also be gained into the disturbed state of the country after the death of Momin Khan, owing to the rapidly declining power of the Mogul Emperors. But it has proved impossible to group these events under a specific heading, hence the caption: miscellaneous information.

DOCUMENTS

1740 *Surat, 8th August, 1740 (1740-42, S. F. 5A)*
At a Consultation

Damaji's threat The Chief acquaints the Board that he has received a letter from Damaji, desiring him to join with the Government in obliging the Dutch Council to reinstate their late Director[1], otherwise he would put a stop to our investment; to which he is desired to return a civil answer.

1740 *Surat, 13th August, 1740 (1740-43, S. F. 631)*
James Hope to Stephen Law.[2]

Damaji's threat The Chief has received a letter from Damaji, desiring him to join with the Governor to compel the Dutch Council to reinstate their late Director, otherwise he would put a stop to our investment; to which the Chief returned a civil answer, but we don't apprehend any ill consequences will arise from this menace.

---

1 See *Gaz. Bom. Pres.* II. 122.

2 Stephen Law, Governor of Bombay.

Surat, 19th August, 1740 (1740-42, S. F. 5A) 1740
Request from Teg Bakht Khan.

T. B. Khan's fear

This morning the Chief received a message from the Diwan by order of the Governor, acquainting him that, there being at present not a very good understanding between him and the Ganims on account of the difference between the late Director and his Council, he requests we would not export any warlike stores to the ports that are under their government. In answer to which the Chief assured him that we should not ship off any of those commodities to their ports without first obtaining the Governor's consent.

Surat, 24th October, 1740 (1740-42, S. F. 5A) 1740
Surat to Bombay.

Investment

That, as the Ganims were drawing all their forces together near the place where our chintzes are whitened, we had been obliged to bring them down to our bunder; which would retard that part of the investment sometime longer than we expected.

Surat, 27th December, 1740 (1740-42, S. F. 5A) 1740
Surat to Bombay.

T. B. Khan's request

That, as the Governor [*Teg Bakht Khan*] was apprehensive of a visit from the Ganims, he desired that we should send him two barrels of gunpowder and fifteen maunds of lead, for which he promised to pay ready money.

Broach, 23rd December, 1772 (1772-73, S. F. 662) 1741
Anecdote regarding Broach.

Revenue of Broach

Upon Nadir Shah's entering India and taking Delhi, the Mogul Power thereby struck, and the whole country thrown into confusion, the Marathas under Damaji (Pilaji being dead), taking advantage of the times, assembled a pretty numerous army and besieged Broach for about three months. When Nizam-ul-Mulk to put a final stop to those depredations dispatched Daula Khan to come to a final treaty with Damaji, when matters were accommodated, and an agreement entered into that for the future the Marathas should receive from the districts 6/10th and the Government of Broach 4/10. This is now about 3 years ago.[1] Ever since which time the revenues have been collected in these proportions; and the Marathas have not given Broach any material disturbance, excepting when compelled to it by the conduct of the late Nawab.

Surat, 10th April, 1742 (1740-42, S. F. 5A) 1742
Surat to the Court of Directors.

Ship captured

The Marathas have taken a large ship bound to Jiddah, belonging to this place, and worth between three and four lakhs of Rupees; but we presume they may restore the ship and cargo for some consideration, as we are of opinion they have taken this step to render themselves more formidable to the traders of this port and by that means to enjoy the duties or jagir which the Sidis are now in possession of, who are so miserably reduced that they are neither able to protect the trade of this

1 Other sources date back the division of the Broach revenue to the year [illegible] See Watson, *History of Gujarat*, 125; *Gaz. Bar. State*, I, 448.

hend trouble from the Ganims. Damaji with 10,000 horses is now at Baroda. Should he come this way, he would meet with no resistance; and if Cambay is plundered, the Company's investment and warehouse would undergo the same fate.

1743 *Surat, 24th February, 1743 (1740-43, S. F. 631)*
Surat to William Wake.

Damaji wounded In our former we acquainted Your Honour, etc. that Devaji had defeated Damaji, who, it seems, had fled with a small party of horse to Baroda, and was not slain in the battle as was before surmised. Devaji has since ravaged and pillaged the whole country thereabouts, and taken possession of the Castle at Songarh, the town being before burnt and laid waste by Damaji's brother; after which Devaji proceeded to Lachpur, where the greatest part of Damaji's treasure is lodged. All the inhabitants of the villages of the adjacent parts are come under the walls of this city for sanctuary, so that the whole country is in the utmost distress and confusion.

1743 *Surat, 24th February, 1743 (1742-44, S. F. 6A)*
Surat to Bombay.

Damaji's defeat Wrote a letter to the Presidency, enclosing them copies of Mr. Sewell's two letters and acquainting them of Damaji's having made his escape to Baroda, and that Devaji had proceeded to Lachpur, where Damaji's treasure was kept, after having taken the Castle of Songarh, the town being before destroyed.

1743 *Bombay, 24th February, 1734 (1743, P. D. 16A)*

Damaji's defeated Received a letter from the Chief and Factors at Surat. They mentioned a battle being fought between Damaji and Devaji, in which it was said the former was slain and his whole army dispersed

1743 *Surat, 27th February, 1743 (1742-44, S. F. 6A)*

Fears at Cambay Received a letter from Mr. Sewell, dated [*Cambay*] the 23rd, advising us of the death of the Nawab of Ahmadabad, and desiring we would not release Agha Bagher's boat, as that would be a security to us, should Damaji, who was at Baroda with ten thousand horse, [*intend*] to plunder Cambay, which the merchants were apprehensive of; for, was he to bend his march that way, he would meet with no resistance; but he would endeavour to obtain leave to ship off the investment and dispatch the boat to the Pagoda, as he did not apprehend there was any risk in so doing.

1743 *Surat, 28th February, 1743 (1742-43, S. F. 633)*
James Hope to John Sewell.

Fears at Cambay This morning came to hand yours of the 23rd, in which [*we*] observe the death of Momin Khan and the apprehensions the town is under, if Damaji thinks proper to come against it; and should it so happen, and he plundered it, our investment must certainly undergo the same fate with other people's goods. We observe you design to procure leave of Nizam Khan for shipping them off, which we have acquainted

Naugur with, who now writes to his people and will take care to make the proper insurance here.

Bombay, 1st March, 1743 (1743, P. D. 16A) 1743

Received a letter from the Chief and Factors at Surat dated the 24th ultimo. *Damaji's defeat*

They mention some particulars which followed the defeat of Damaji by Devaji, and that these commotions in the country had made the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages to retire under the walls of Surat.

Surat, 13th April, 1743 (1742-44, S. F. 6A) 1743

The trouble amongst the Ganims, this Board very well knows, has been the occasion of goods falling twenty per cent. since the arrival of the first ships; and that at present there is great appearance of those troubles being over, which will open the roads and occasion a considerable demand for goods, so that of course the price must increase in proportion thereto. *Investment*

Cambay, 13th May, 1743 (1742-43, S. F. 633) 1743

Thomas Hodges to James Hope.[1]

All advices lately from Ahmadabad have been filled with the plunderings and unparalled exactions of Nawab Bahadur[2], the person in provisional command of this subah; which have proceeded from a want of money to bribe the leading men at Court to procure him a commission. *Ahmadabad*

Surat, 16th May, 1743 (1742-43, S. F. 633) 1743

Letter from Cambay.

Received a letter from Cambay, dated the 13th, acknowledging ours of the 9th instant, setting forth the exactions of the Nawab of Ahmadabad in plundering the merchants of that city in order to get his commission confirmed from Court by bribing the great men. *Ahmadabad*

Cambay, 20th May, 1743 (1742-43, S. F. 633) 1743

Thomas Hodges to James Hope.

The Nawab returned this morning to Ahmadabad with booty of at least one lakh and an half of Rupees, that he had plundered this city of.[3] *Cambay*

Surat, 22nd May, 1743 (1742-43, S. F. 633) 1743

Letter from Cambay.

This day received a letter from Mr. Thomas Hodges at Cambay dated the 17th May, advising that he had met the Nawab at the garden, a little distant from that place, and made him a present to the amount of Rs. 58,32; but cannot say what [*the*] other expenses may be, as the officers belonging to his retinue are to be gratified; and that he has begun to plunder the merchants, giving an obligation by way of borrow- *Affairs at Cambay*

1 Thomas Hodges, Chief at Cambay.

2 Probably Fida-ud-din Khan, who was appointed acting Viceroy after Momin Khan's death.

3 Fida-ud-din Khan, the acting Viceroy. See *Gaz. Bom. Pres.* I, I, 327.

ing, though he feared that was of no great validity; and had sent for the vakil, requesting that the Resident would sell him some silk, iron and sugar to the amount of thirty or forty thousand Rupees, for the discharge of which the custom-master Mirza Mogul should be security; and that he would put three towns in his possession until the debt was cleared; with all which he waved complying, as it was immediately contrary to the Governor and Council's orders of Bombay; on which the Nawab smiled and hoped he would not persist in his resolutions. He hopes that we shall approve of the steps he had taken throughout this affair. During the Nawab's stay there, he informs us that one Badar Khan, a Patan general, had challenged him to battle and remained at Dholka with an army of 5,000 men.

1743 *Surat, 24th May, 1743 (1742-43, S. F. 633)*
Letter from Cambay.

Nawab leaves Cambay

Received a letter from Mr. Hodges, dated the 20th instant, letting us know that he had at last got rid of the Nawab's importunity[1] by making him a present of a fowling-piece; and that he was returned to Ahmadabad having plundered Cambay of about one lakh and a half of Rupees; that the whole expense of his presents amounts to Rupees 93.8 which, he hoped, we would not think unreasonable.

1743 *Surat, 31st May, 1743 (1742-43, S. F. 633)*
Surat to Bombay.

Rangoji defeated

We have received advice from Cambay that the Nawab of Ahmadabad[2], on his return to that city, had by surprise seized Rangoji, the Ganim general, together with most of his officers, and made them prisoners; that his army which consisted of about 8,000 men had thereupon dispersed; and that by this means the Nawab had possessed himself of the whole city, the revenues of which the Ganim general had before shared with him; and we hear that [*he*] demands no less than ten lakhs of Rupees for his ransom.[2]

1743 *Cambay, 8th June, 1743 (1742-43, S. F. 633)*
Thomas Hodges to James Hope.

Fear of Rangoji

The conquest Nawab Bahadur lately obtained over the Ganims at Ahmadabad has exceedingly exasperated them against the Moors, in so much that they spare not to cut off the ears and noses of all such as they can catch within five kos of these walls. If this victory should, as some conjecture, draw Damaji's whole force into these parts, it may not only prove fatal to the Moors, but will certainly be a hindrance to the Hon'ble Company's investment, so that, in my opinion, Gentlemen, the less you can bring the contractors to depend upon Dholka and Neriad for nicannees and dutties, the greater will be your prospect of the goods being delivered in time.

---

1 Fida-ud-din; see preceding letter.

2 Fida-ud-din vigorously attacked Rangoji, defeated him, and forced him to surrender Borsad and Viramgam. In this way Fida-ud-din became sole master of Gujarat (*Gaz. Bom. Pres.* VII, 176).

Cambay, 12th September, 1743 (1743-44, S. F. 635) 1743
Thomas Hodges to James Hope.

Cambay in danger

The Ganims being so near, has obliged our Governor to double his guard here and [*to*] desire that I would send men to take care of the bastion that is always entrusted to the English. At present I have only enlisted one officer and five peons; but, if the whole body of the Ganims' army should approach us, I shall be necessitated to increase the number. In this I have done as was heretofore usual on such occasions, and therefore I hope it will meet with your approbation; and you may depend that, whenever the circumstances of affairs will admit of their being discharged, I shall do it instantly.

Surat, 16th September, 1743 (1742-44, S. F. 6A) 1743
Letter from Cambay.

Cambay in danger

Received a letter from Mr. Hodges at Cambay, dated the 12th instant, acquainting that on account of the Ganims' troubles there were no more than 100 corges[1] of the different sorts of goods received into the warehouse since his last; that the Ganims being so near, he was obliged at the Governor's request to send an officer and five peons to the bastion usually entrusted to the English, whom he should take care to discharge as soon as the circumstances of affairs would permit.

Cambay, 18th October, 1743 (1743-44, S. F. 635) 1743
Thomas Hodges to James Hope.

Cambay revenue

Nizam Khan,[2] not caring to stand a siege against the Ganims, has purchased Rangoji's friendship by allowing him half the revenues of Cambay, so that now his people as well as the Khan's are placed at the custom-houses for recovering the duty upon all goods. At present our business goes on as usual and, I hope, will meet with no impediments, though the Ganims begin to act very imperiously already, and even spare not to insult the Governor's and custom-master's servants.

Surat, 22nd October, 1743 (1742-44, S. F. 6A) 1743
Letter from Cambay.

Cambay revenue

Received a letter from Mr. Hodges at Cambay, dated the 18th instant. He advises that Nizam Khan had allowed the Ganims half the revenues of Cambay, and that their officers were accordingly placed at the customs-house. That the troubles being now over, he had discharged the officer and five peons he had enlisted on that account, and that the boats, sent for the investment, were loading with the utmost expedition, and that by them we should receive about 97 bales.

Surat, 28th December, 1743 (1742-44, S. F. 6A) 1743
Fight between Moguls and Marathas.

[illegible]

This day we had certain advices that yesterday [illegible] army engaged with the Ganims commanded by D[illegible]

1 Khorjam a lot of 20 pieces, commonly called [illegible].

2 Nizam Khan, called Najam Khan by Watson [illegible] was the son-in-law of Momin Khan, who had [illegible] ruler at Cambay. Upon Momin Khan's death [illegible] ship; he died in 1748 and was succeeded by [illegible] known as Momin Khan II.

rao at a place called Piravul, which is 18 kos from hence.[1] That in the beginning of the action four or five thousand Marathas, who were in Muckboul Alum's army, deserted to Devajirao and assisted him. That the battle was fought very obstinately for a considerable time. That Muckboul Alum and Futtahiab Khan were both killed, a great number of their men cut to pieces, and the rest dispersed, and that 5,000 Marathas were killed.

1744 *Bombay, 1st January, 1744 (1744, P. D. 17A)*
Letter from Surat.

Mogul army near Surat

Received a letter from the Chief and Factors at Surat, dated the 22nd of December [*1743*].

The Governor has suspicions the English will assist Muckboul Alum,[2] though the Chief, etc. repeatedly assured him they are groundless; that they are certain the English had no correspondence with Muckboul Alum either at Bombay or there. The army was within two kos of them, and [*a*] general stop [*was*] put to all business.

1744 *Bombay, 2nd January, 1744 (1744, P. D. 17A)*
Letter from Surat.

Mogul army leaves

Received a letter from the Chief and Factors at Surat dated the 26th ultimo [*26th December, 1743*].

Muckboul Alum's army was filed off towards Broach, and were much harassed by the Ganims.

1744 *Cambay, 16th February, 1744 (1743-44, S. F. 635)*
Thomas Hodges to James Hope.

Trouble at Cambay

I am now to advise you that Rangoji is in sight of this city with an army of 20,000 Ganims, who are all encamped at a place called Nanagsett. His coming, it seems, is only to hasten the Nawab to finish the payment of the lakh of Rupees which he had promised to give him for his assistance in taking Ahmadabad from Kamal-ud-din.

Present to Rangoji

The power of the Ganims being at present much greater than that of the Moguls, not only in Ahmadabad and this place, but throughout Gujarat makes Rangoji look upon himself in the light of the Nawab and expect the same respect from all merchants whereever he goes; and therefore, as it is always usual for us to give the Nawab of Ahmadabad a present when he comes hither, I thought, considering the opportunity his people have, in spite of the Khan, of giving us troubles in our business here, it would be best to make a friend of him. I accordingly waited on him the day before yesterday and made him a present to the amount of 119 Rupees, which he received in a very courteous manner, and ordered Trimbak Pandit, his Cambay chauthia, to give immediate dispatch to whatever business I might want at any time of him. In my confer-

Visit to Rangoji

---

1 This probably refers to the battle of Kim Kathodra. *See Gaz. Bar. State* I, 449; Watson, *History of Gujarat*, 130. Piravul may be the same as Panoli in Watson's account. According to Watson this battle was fought in 1744, from the Surat letter it follows that the correct date is the 27th December, 1743.

2 The person designated by this title, which means *the patron of learning*, seems to be Abdul Aziz Khan, who after Momin Khan's death became Viceroy by a forged document.

ence with him he bestowed several encomiums on the English in general, and indeed treated me with a great deal of respect ; but asked me the reason why we had not carried on any trade at Cambay this season. I answered that the troubles, [*in which*] we foresaw the country would be involved, made us timorous of sending for goods, lest they should lie long on our hands unsold. To which he said that, as the power of Gujarat was now chiefly in his hands, he was determined to do whatever might tend to promote a flourishing trade ; and therefore hoped I would write to Bombay for goods. I gave him a promise to do as he desired ; and after talking some time upon different subjects, took my leave

Surat, 19th February, 1744 (1742-44, S. F. 6A) 1744
Letter from Cambay.

Received a letter from Mr. Hodges at Cambay, dated the 15th instant, advising us of Rangoji the Ganim being in sight of that place with an army of 20,000 men, and that he had been to visit him, and had made him a present to the value of one hundred and nineteen (119) Rupees; which he hoped we would approve of, as it was proper to make a friend of one who, in spite of the Country Government, had it in his power to impede our business there. *Present to Rangoji*

Surat, 20th February, 1744 (1742-44, S. F. 6A) 1744
Letter to Cambay.

Wrote to Mr. Hodges at Cambay, acknowledging the receipt of his two letters of the 16th and 17th instant, and acquaint him that we are of opinion it had been more proper for him to have sent Edul with a formal compliment than to have gone himself to see Rangoji, as such a visit could not be altogether pleasing to the Government of the place ; and that besides Edul needed only have made an inconsiderable present, which would have been accepted with equal courtesy as that he gave, being proportionably suitable to the giver ; and that he might always be assured, if Rangoji had the least regard to the trade of the place, he would never consent to impede our business. That we were much surprised he should hesitate with respect to the message sent him by the merchants ; that, if his business went on well, and that Nizam Khan had not hitherto given him any trouble, as he himself acknowledged, it would be very unreasonable in him to desert the Factory and join the black merchants, who possibly might be, or at least might think themselves injured. That, as for their threatenings, he well knew, if it suited their interest, they would deal with him and not otherwise, even if he sacrificed everything by joining with them. That undoubtedly he knew our Hon'ble Masters had positively enjoined their servants never to interfere in cases of that nature, but remain perfectly neuter on all occasions where their privileges are not invaded ; that we should send copies of the letters to Bombay to inform them the more fully of the troubles Cambay was involved in ; and that he might charge the present given to Rangoji to the Hon'ble Company's account. *Present to Rangoji*

Surat, 22nd February, 1744 (1742-43, S. F. 6A) 1744

It is agreed, as Devajirao, the commanding officer of the Ganims in these parts, is now at Pulparah (where he has been for some days *Present to Devaji*

past to celebrate the Holi festival) that we send to him Jagannath, who is a proper person and offers his service on this occasion, with a compliment from the Chief and a small present; which is thought the more necessary, as our complaisance at this time may prevent his people from impeding the Company's business in the out-parts.

1744 *Bombay, 2nd March, 1744 (1744, P. D. 17A)*
Letter from Surat.

Various presents Received by pattemar a letter from the Chief and Factors at Surat of the 22nd ultimo [*22nd February*].

Devaji, the commanding officer of the Ganims, being come to Pulparah with his relations, it was judged proper to make him a compliment and a small present; and the customer of Broach's son being lately married at Surat, it was requisite to present him a shawl and turban, his father being always ready to give dispatch to their business.

1744 *Surat, 8th March, 1744 (1742-44, S. F. 6A)*
Letter from Cambay and its answer.

Hodges explains Received a letter from Mr. Hodges at Cambay, dated the 3rd instant, wherein he acquaints us that Nizam Khan[1], the Governor, had approved of his intention to visit Rangoji, before he took that step, and that he should be always as frugal as possible in making of presents. That one Hamza Khan, Saïd Khan and the Ganim chauthia becoming securities for Nizam Khan's mild behaviour towards the merchants, they all came to town on the 2nd. He desires this his letter may be forwarded to the President and Council of Bombay and encloses a list of what goods were then in the warehouse, being 41 corges of sundry sorts. He *Cambay affairs* adds that Rangoji as a monument of the Gentoos' superior power had caused to be opened a well near Cambay, which was sacred to the Gentoos, who say it is 5,000 years old and was filled up about forty years ago by Aurangzeb. That he has even obliged Nizam Khan to set his people to work thereon; which (Mr. Hodges says) is making the Muhammadans encouragers of idolatory, a thing expressly against the fundamental position of Muhammad's doctrine.

Surat reply Wrote to Mr. Hodges at Cambay, acknowledging the receipt of his letter of the 3rd instant, and acquainting him that, as he had not in his former letter advised us of the precaution he had taken before he had visited Rangoji, it was impossible for us to know, and that we should not be left to guess in affairs of that nature. That the copies of his former letters having been forwarded to Bombay long ago, that now received could not, according to his request, accompany them; but we should take care to send a copy of it thither by the first conveyance. That we hoped the Governor's concurring and assisting in opening the antedeluvian well will be the occasion of such a harmony twixt him and the Ganims as will rebound to the advantage of the place and the trade thereof; and that as to the contrariety of it to Nizam Khan's religion, we fancied he would prefer his own quiet to the satisfying any small scruple of conscience.

1 Nizam Khan, also known as Najam Khan, the son-in-law of Momin Khan I.

Bombay, 13th October, 1744 (1744, P. D. 17B) 1744
Letter from Surat.

This instant received a letter from the Chief and Factors at Surat, dated the 12th instant, wherein they request that the sale of Europe goods may be deferred until the return of the Edgbaston, on which Jagannath would take passage, who had commissions from their merchants. That Fakhr-ud-daula had defeated the Marathas, and that it is generally believed Kamal-ud-din Khan Babi would be obliged to deliver up the city of Ahmadabad[1], which was closely besieged. *Ahmadabad*

Surat, March, 1745 (1744-46, S. F. 7) 1745
Letter from Cambay.

Received a letter from Mr. Hodges at Cambay, [*dated 4th March*] wherein he acquaints us that Khanderao, the Ganim general, had stopped the Dholka kafilah[2], which amounted to about ten thousand (10,000) Rupees, one thousand of which being goods of the Company's investment. He had accordingly procured and dispatched a letter from Nizam Khan and another from the Ganim Governor there to Khanderao, in which they each of them desired him to release our goods. *Goods confiscated*

Surat, March, 1745 (1744-46, S. F. 7) 1745
Letter from Cambay.

Received a letter from Mr. Hodges at Cambay [*dated 13th March*] acquainting us that Khanderao had restored our goods and replaced them in Dholka, and that he had one hundred and thirty eight (*138*) corges of the investment in the warehouse besides twenty *20* corges of duttees in the dyers' hands, which he shortly expected. *Goods restored*

Surat, May, 1745 (1744-46, S. F. 7) 1745
Letter from Cambay.

Received a letter from Mr. Hodges, [*dated 25th May*] acquainting us he will repair hither by land, provided we procured Damaji's parwanah. *Damaji's parwanah*

Wrote to Mr. Hodges to acquaint him we had sent people to Baroda for procuring a passport for himself and whatever necessaries he might bring with him.

Surat, 15th June, 1745 (1744-46, S. F. 7) 1745

Sent a pattemar to Mr. Hodges at Cambay with a letter enclosing a letter from Damaji's brother for himself and whatever necessaries he might bring with him. *Damaji's parwanah*

Surat, 28th August, 1746 (1746-49, S. F. 8, I) 1746
Letter to Bombay.

This evening Teg Bakht Khan, Governor of this city, departed this life, having been for a long time ill of a flux; upon which Begler Khan, Governor of the Castle, took upon him the charge of the government, until orders should come from Court. *T. B. Khan's death*

1 See Watson, *History of Gujarat*, 131.

2 A caravan.

1746 *Surat, 19th September, 1746 (1746-49, S. F. S, I)*
Letter to Bombay.

Letters held up

Addressed the Hon'ble President and Council of Bombay, acquainting them that in future we should not send any Portuguese letters in our packet, though certainly the Marathas could not know there was any in that dispatched the 19th ultimo, until they opened it.

1746 *Surat, 3rd October, 1746 (1746-49, S. F. S, I)*
Letter to Bombay.

Surat trouble

We addressed the Hon'ble President and Council of Bombay acquainting that the Ganims having been lately troublesome close to the city walls prevented our sending the chelloes ordered.

No. 5. STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY BETWEEN MIAH ACHIND AND SAFDAR KHAN (1747–1749)

THE account of this struggle as given in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency* (II, 123) is incomplete and misleading, as may be gathered from the following brief outline of the concatenation of events. The *Gazetteer* does not distinguish between the two phases of the contest. The first contest opens on the 23rd October, 1747, (see letter of that date) when Miah Achind seized the Castle. It closes on the 28th February, 1748, (see letter of the 4th March, 1748), on which day Safdar Khan surrendered the gates of the city and retired to the English garden. After he had been thus deprived of the nawabship (a detail not even hinted at by the *Gazetteer*) Safdar Khan attempted to make good his loss of power and prestige; and this constitutes the second phase of the contest, which may be considered to have started on the 14th September, 1748 (see letter of that date), and which came to an end on the 25th December, 1748, with Safdar Khan's departure for Tatta.

DOCUMENTS

Surat, 8th September, 1787 (1787, S. & P. D. 36) 1747
John Griffith to Rawson Hart Boddam.
Origin of Surat chauth levied by Marathas.

In obedience to your commands dated the 7th ultimo we have made every possible enquiry into the origin of the chauth[1] and of the residence of a chauthia at Surat; and we find that previous to the year 1748 there was no chauthia at Surat, on the part either of the Peshwa or Gaikwad. That in 1747 Damaji Gaikwad had a private agent, named Bayaji, at Surat for the sole purpose of buying piece-goods for his master, and he used to apply to the Nawab for an exemption from duties. *Chauth*

1 This account has been here chronologically split up into several parts. See *Index, Griffith.*

1747 *Surat, 11th January, 1747 (1746-49, S. F. 8, I)*

Unruly crowd This evening Muncher's brother and some others under the Hon'ble Company's protection were very much wounded by the deceased Governor's slaves; after which upwards of a hundred of them passed twice by the Factory with drawn swords in a riotous manner. It is therefore agreed to write the following *rocca* to Safdar Khan[1] to prevent such insults in future.

Translation of the rocca[2] sent to Safdar Khan.

Letter of complaint Last night Salim and others of the Government's slaves, without any cause or provocation, wounded Muncherji's brother and another Parsi, his servant; and not contented with that, came in a riotous and tumultuous manner with drawn swords before the Factory, and afterwards beat and abused several people belonging to the English and under their protection. Formerly some English gentlemen were also beat in a cruel manner by the Government's peons, and no redress has been hitherto obtained. If abuses of this nature are overlooked by the Government in a city to which all nations resort and by whose trade it subsists, it must of course go soon to ruin; and it is impossible for us or other strangers to carry our business, where slaves are permitted to domineer without any restraint. Therefore we hope and expect that satisfaction be made for this, and proper care taken to prevent such insults in future.

1747 *Surat, 21st February, 1747 (1746-49, S. F. 8, I)*

B. Khan's death Wrote to the Hon'ble President and Council of Bombay to advise them of the death of Begler Khan.

1747 *Surat, 12th April, 1747 (1746-49, S. F. 8, I)*

Safdar K. Nawab This day an hour was appointed at the Darbar for opening a commission or sanad said to have been sent from Court to Safdar Khan for the government of this place. The principal merchants attending to pay him their usual compliments, the Chief directed Govindas to present him with two gold and seven silver Rupees. Public rejoicings were made on this occasion, the cannon of the town and Castle being discharged, and at night the streets illuminated.

1747 *Surat, 23rd November, 1747 (1747, S. F. 637)*
Revolution at Surat.

M. Achind in power This morning Miah Achind,[3] the bakhshi or paymaster here, took the Castle by surprise, confined Muhammad Wiqar Khan (Safdar Khan's son), the Governor thereof, and immediately caused a proclamation to be made through the city that Nasir Jang (Nizam-ul-mulk's son) was

1 Teg Bakht Khan had two brothers; the one, Begler Khan, was in command of the Castle; the other, Safdar Khan, was Naib or deputy-governor (*Gaz. Bomb. Pres.* II, 116).

2 *Rocca, roocka, rooka* means a letter.

3 On his accession to the nawabship on the 12th April, 1747, Safdar Khan appointed his son Wiqar Khan commander of the Castle. Miah Achind, who had married Teg Bakht Khan's daughter, succeeded in securing both the town and the Castle for himself.

Governor, and that he was his deputy. Safdar Khan [illegible] ing we would continue firm to his interests; to which [illegible] answer that we would always remain neuter in [illegible]

Surat, 25th November, 1747 (1747, S. F. 637)
Revolution at Surat.

Having received a message from Safdar Khan, [illegible] appoint some [*gentlemen*] to meet the other Europeans [illegible] of this place to consider a proper writing to be sent to [illegible] requesting his reason and by whose authority he had [illegible] as noticed in our Diary under the 23rd instant, [illegible] send Messrs Sadlier and Fraser to this meeting.

Surat, 25th November, 1747 (1747, S. F. 637)
Revolution at Surat.

Messrs Sadlier and Fraser returned this [illegible] ed us that at Safdar Khan's request they had jointly with the [illegible] and other merchants agreed to write a rocca to [illegible] [*it*] should be sent to the Castle; which was as [illegible]

The steps that have been taken by Your Excellency [illegible] inhabitants in general into the greatest consternation, [illegible] cause of a great deal of bloodshed and [*of*] a step [illegible] If on this occasion [*you had*] the King's commission [illegible] made [*clear*]; and if you have no orders from the [illegible] know what your intentions are, and favour us with a [illegible]

Miah Achind sent by the return of the [illegible] rocca a copy of the commission he had from Nizam-ul-mulk, [illegible] same time sent a verbal message by them to [illegible] Safdar Khan immediately to evacuate the city to [illegible] chief; which some of the chief merchants went with to the [illegible] result of which is not yet known.

Translation of the commission, which Miah Achind says he received [illegible] Nizam-ul-mulk, signed by Nizam, thus:

Act according to this writing. I having repeatedly been informed of the cruelties and oppressions practised at Surat from the writings of the inhabitants there and the testimonies of persons who have come from that place, and as the ease and security of the inhabitants of the Gate of the House of God [*Surat*] is a meritorious piece of service, Your Excellency is directed, if you find it practicable, to possess yourself in whatever manner you can of the city and Castle, and breaking the hand of the oppressor that it may no longer distress the poor and helpless. In doing this............[1] of favour; and let us be acquainted therewith, ...when our army shall be appointed to succour you.

Surat, 10th December, 1747 (1747, S. F. 637)
At a Consultation.

The Chief acquaints the Board that last night he had a visit from Sidi Masud, who came at the request of Safdar Khan on account of the near approach of the Ganims, urging the necessity there was for us, the 1747

1 Where the Surat Diary is illegible, dots have been inserted.

French, Dutch and merchants in town to assist in defending the walls by sending parties of men to the several towers or bastions, to each a proper allotment in order to prevent the utter ruin of the inhabitants; hinting at the same time the danger we ourselves should otherwise be in. The Chief in answer to this observed to him that, as Miah Achind had by possessing himself of the Castle the entire command of the river and had furnished himself with boats, he could bring over what number of Ganims or others he thought proper, under cover of the Castle; and it was evident he by that means was daily increasing his force. Besides, agreeing to the proposals now made, might be deemed by Achind engaging in Safdar Khan's behalf; and it was not our business to interfere in the quarrels; but [*we*] doubted not we could defend our Factory against any that might molest us. The Sidi then proposed that a sum of money should be given to the Ganims to depart, which could not, he said, be less than two lakhs of Rupees, as that was the reward offered them by Achind for their assistance; and Safdar Khan, he [*Sidi Masud*] said, hoped we would contribute a proportion thereof; intimating that the Dutch and other merchants in town were ready on their parts, with many other arguments to induce the Chief to a compliance; who acquainted the Sidi that he could not disburse the Hon'ble Company's money on any such account; that, if Safdar Khan and Miah Achind could be brought to any terms of agreement with respect to the government within, [*it*] would then become the business of both one and the other to free the city from all apprehensions of the Ganims; and till that was effected, each would be striving for the superiority; and whatever was pretended, they would be equally desirous of bringing in Ganims or others to their assistance in order to carry their point. The money, if advanced, would in all probability be [*spent*] to the very contrary of the use for which it [*was*] now requested; the Chief further observing to the Sidi that he had very good intelligence Safdar Khan had then an agent with Damaji, endeavouring to win him over to his interests. Therefore if he (the Sidi) could be any way instrumental in bringing about an accommodation within, there would be nothing to be feared from without; and in this he would do a general benefit to the place. The Board unanimously approve the Chief's reply to the Sidi.

The Chief's views

Safdar's rocca

The Chief lays before the Board a rocca he received last night from Moyeen-ud-din Khan for Miah Achind,[1] which is entered hereafter, as is the Chief's answer, which is approved, being only designed to gain time to confer with the Dutch on a fuller reply. The Director having received a rocca to the same purpose, it appears necessary that we go hand in hand with them at this critical juncture; agreed therefore that Mr. Lambe be sent to their Factory to communicate with them on this occasion.

Translation of a rocca sent by Moyeen-ud-din Khan to the Chief.

Until now I have managed my affairs as you have seen; and the inhabitants and merchants, for whose good alone I have taken so much trouble and pains, have not joined me, nor have you thought of any expedient for me. I have hitherto (out of regard to the safety of the city)

1 The phrase *Moyeen-ud-din Khan for Miah Achind* apparently means Miah Achind also known as Moyeen-ud-din.

deferred calling in 5,000 Marathas, who are ready. When they do come in, you may guess what will be the condition of the city and its inhabitants. Therefore I have acquainted you of this and have also sent a rocca to the same purport to the Dutch Chief. It was incumbent on me to give you this notice; so write an answer to it soon, that I may take measures accordingly.

P.S.—Acquaint the inhabitants and merchants of my taking the 5,000 Marathas, that I may not lay under any blame; acquaint them of it without delay, and let me have a speedy answer.

The Chief's answer to the foregoing.

I had last night the favour of your letter and duly note the contents. I have nothing more at heart than the welfare of the city and wish it was in my power to use any expedient that would [illegible] thereto. However I shall more fully consider what you write and [illegible] advise you accordingly.

Surat, 18th December, 1747 (1747, S. F. [illegible]

This day Moyeen-ud-din Khan summoned all the [illegible] principal inhabitants of the city and required the [illegible] would send some of their Council, as he had a commission [illegible] which he had received from Nizam for the government [illegible] was accordingly complied with by all, and afterwards [illegible] sion was published throughout the town by beat of drum

Surat, 18th December, 1747 (1747, S. F. [illegible]

At night hostilities again commenced between the [illegible] preparations for which have been making during the [illegible] having continued betwixt them, which would have [illegible] to break out, had not Moyeen-ud-din Khan [illegible] as both parties are now grown stronger [illegible] may continue.

the city; for as we had been very cautious and not given the least offence to either party, we could not apprehend any molestation from them, although we were greatly pestered both from the one and the other to afford them assistance, which we had industriously avoided. We advised them of Nizam's colours being hoisted at the Castle, and that Miah Achind gave out he had received a commission to be governor thereof; but that it was reported in town that a new governor for the city was on his way from Aurangabad, so that we could not well judge *Damaji* how these affairs would terminate. That Damaji was now at Pulparah with 3,000 horse and had detached a party of 500 on the other side of the river opposite the Castle in order to succour Miah Achind.

1747 *Surat, 1st December, 1747 (1747, S. F. 637)*
Letter to Bombay.

Peace We advised them of Safdar Khan and Miah Achind having ceased hostilities, and that the new diwan, Manekchand, was empowered by both to settle the conditions between them, in which it was thought he would succeed.

1747 *Surat, 31st December, 1747 (1747, S. F. 637)*
Letter to Bombay.

Maratha danger We advised them that terms of an accommodation had been settled between the Castle and Darbar, a translate of which the Chief transmitted the Hon'ble President, and which we found had been managed by the two Khans themselves without admitting any mediator, although, when we wrote them last, it was thought in town that Manekchand Diwan would have the settling [*of*] the affairs; as it was now, that the peace concluded would be but of short duration, from the jealousy that must unavoidably subsist between the two contending parties, and the Ganims still continuing to surround the city, and would, we concluded, until they were gratified, in consequence of the large promises[1] made them, as it now appeared, from Safdar Khan and Miah Achind; and on this account [*they*] were distressing the city by impeding provisions being brought in landways, stopping boats on the river, and every other shape they could, so that we judged it necessary for the present to continue the Factory in the same posture of defence we had before put it; the Dutch and the merchants, their several houses acting the same part, retaining the forces they had before enlisted for their defence.

1748 *Bombay, 4th January, 1748 (1748, P. D. 21A)*
Letter from Surat.

Maratha danger The Chief transmits to the President a translate of the terms of accommodation settled between the Castle and Darbar, which was managed by the two Khans without any mediators. The Ganims still surround the city and, they conclude, will, till they are gratified by the two contending parties, in consequence of their respective promises, so that in this situation they think it proper to continue the Factory in a posture of defence.

---

1 Two lakhs (see 10th December, 1747); one-third of the revenue of Surat (*Gaz. Bom. Pres. I*, 451); three lakhs (Watson, *History of Gujarat*, 135); one-fourth of the revenue of Surat (*Gaz. Bom. Pres.* II, 123; and extracts of 8th January, 1748, and 27th May, 1751).

Bombay, 8th January, 1748 (1748, P. D. 21A) 1748
At a Consultation.

Read the advices from the Chief and Factors at Surat of the 21st *Damaji's claims* and 31st ultimo as per abstract in the Diary under the 29th ultimo and 4th instant, also a paper containing Miah Atchind's demands on Safdar Khan with his answers thereto, and translates of two letters from Damajirao, the Ganim general, one directed to the Europeans and principal merchants at Surat, representing his title to a quarter part of the revenues of Surat, and the other to our Chief alone, acquainting him of his having sent orders for delivery of two of our boats which his people had stopped in going up the river, and expressing his desire that Jagannath might be sent to him.

Taking into consideration such parts of the Surat advices as now require our more immediate notice, their ordering the gallivats to protect the boats, loaded with the Hon'ble Company's goods, from being stopped by the Ganims, as other boats had been, the Board approved and hopes shortly to hear of an accommodation between the Ganims and the Surat Government.

Surat, 7th February, 1748 (1747, S. F. 637) 1748
At a Consultation.

The Chief acquaints the Board that he had a visit from Manekchand, *Safdar's request* Safdar Khan's Diwan, and a number of principal merchants, requesting him to consider on the unhappy situation of affairs in town and to seek some expedient for putting an end thereto. But, as Manekchand is a man of so bad a character and so much to be suspected, the Chief demanded of him whether he came by his Master's order or of his own accord; and he replying by his Master's order, the Chief sent Jagannath with him to the Darbar to have [*this*] confirmed from himself. This done, he sent to both parties to require a cessation of arms, if they were desirous of his mediation between them; which was complied with by Miah Achind and Safdar Khan; and hostilities having ceased, he would with the approbation of the Board use his endeavours to bring about a reconciliation; otherwise the greatest calamities might be expected to ensue. But, as this could not be carried on without some assistance, he proposed to employ Jagannath on all occasions to the Castle, and Sidi Masud to the Darbar, and to call in the principal merchants, as it might become necessary, to give the greater weight and sanction to the negotiation; which is unanimously approved of, it being to be undertaken at the request of the two Governors, the principal merchants and town in general.

Surat, 8th February, 1748 (1747, S. F. 637) 1748
Letter to Bombay.

Wrote to the Hon'ble President and Council of Bombay, acquainting *Critical situation* them that on the 3rd instant we advised them of the unhappy situation of affairs here; since when, at the Chief's instance, a cessation of arms had been agreed to by the Governors of the Castle and town; and that he was now with the Sidi and merchants endeavouring to settle the terms of peace, Masud and Jagannath being employed between the Castle and Darbar on this service; but that at present we could not take [illegible]

us to say what might be the events, nor should we here add more on the subject of the troubles, the Chief having fully wrote the Hon'ble President a few days past.

1748 *Bombay, 12th February, 1748 (1748, P. D. 21A)*
Letter to Surat.

Damaji's plans

You do not take notice to me in any of your letters what is to be apprehended from Damaji's being admitted into the city, *viz.* whether or on what terms he will leave it, should Achind carry his point in driving out Safdar Khan; and the like in respect to the Kolis whom the latter has called to his assistance. Whichsoever party prevails, if the Ganims or Kolis should share in the government, it would be absurd previously to side with either party, as great aspersions would afterwards ensue; but sure by this time you must know whether Nizam be sincere in Achind's cause or not; which [*I*] judge to be your most sure guidance. If he is, I imagine ere this you have Nasir Jang's army not far distant from you, when I should think you might engage with safety in favour of Achind whether he has the Mogul's authentic sanad or not; and indeed Safdar Khan's setting the town on fire would fully vindicate all European Factories for doing so likewise. I can only further say that I pity your situation and wait with as much patience as I am able the fate of the now miserable city of Surat.

1748 *Surat, 17th February, 1748 (1747, S. F. 637)*

The Chief mediator

The Chief takes notice to the Board that he had from time to time acquainted them with every material transaction relating to the mediation he was engaged in between Safdar Khan and Miah Achind; however he thought it necessary now to lay before them a summary of the steps he had taken and the reasons that induced him thereto. And first that it was evident from the short duration of the settlement made between the two Khans for one to continue Governor of the Castle and the other of the city, that all confidence was lost between them; and that peace, if settled now on the like footing as then, it could not be expected to continue long. He, therefore, had used his best endeavours with Safdar Khan to relinquish the government, representing to him that Achind was appointed by Nizam and would by him be supported, whose power in the Mogul Empire was too well known to doubt of his procuring a confirmation from Court; that Damaji, the Ganim general, was just the other side of the river with a large body of men, entirely attached to Achind and ready to come over at a moment's warning; that Achind being possessed of the Castle and having such powerful assistance, it would be too great a risk for him (Safdar Khan) to contend, as in all human probability he would be drove to the greatest extremities, when it might be doubtful whether he would escape with his life, much more with his effects, whereas now he had an opportunity of quitting the government with all honour and security to himself, family and effects; and whoever represented matters to him in any other light, he ought to deem his enemy; that for our parts we never inclined to be so, or we should not so long have sat spectators; that he knew, when the troubles first broke out, we had a Europe ship and two grabs at the Bar, at which time he had but few troops and the Darbar quite unfortified;

that our vessels had frequently been at the Bar since, but were always dispatched away immediately not to give umbrage either to him or Achind; that, though we had been applied to by both to furnish warlike stores, etc., we had never given the minutest article to either, as our purpose was to observe a strict neutrality; and even now, when matters have been carried to such a length that a considerable part of the town had been burnt, by which the inhabitants were great sufferers, Kolis brought in on one side and Ganims on the other, and nothing but desolation threatening the whole city, we only became mediators between them (and that at their own request) with an eye chiefly to save from ruin so great a city as Surat, and which behoved him (Safdar Khan), Miah Achind, us and everybody else seriously to think on after the calamities we had already seen it undergo; that the government, though it should be delivered up to Achind, might still be accounted to remain in his own family; whereas by his persisting in an obstinate and desperate war with his relation, the remainder of the Ganims that were at the gates and on the other side the river would be called over to Achind's assistance; and they, joined with those already in town, would, in all probability, of auxiliaries become masters and so possess themselves of the city; which would be an ignominious blot in the King his Master's reign and an eternal scandal to all Mussulmen; in which case he and his family could expect no other than the most rigorous treatment from the conquerors, whereas Achind would at least sit secure in the Castle. But after all, if our mediation and good offices failed, we should be obliged to take such steps as appeared to us most conducive to that sole end, which we had laid down to ourselves, of preserving, as far as in us lay, the city from ruin; and [*we*] doubted not we should have the approbation not only of Nizam, but of the King; and he (Safdar Khan) would have only his evil councillors to blame for any ill consequences that might attend himself or family. These and many other arguments of the like sort the Chief made use of to prevail on him to quit the government, as Achind on his part would hear of no terms, unless this material point was first settled; which at last Safdar Khan consenting to, on the Chief's promise of procuring for him seventy thousand Rupees—which Achind instantly complied with—and to let Safdar Khan depart in safety with all his adherents, effects, etc. in the amplest manner, which the Saïds and whole body of merchants became security for the performance of; and here the Chief remarks the absolute necessity there appeared to him of bringing matters to this issue, not only as Achind is so strongly supported as above taken notice of, besides his being possessed of the Castle, but likewise as the merchants and the whole town in general, from the good character he bears, incline to have him governor; and from Safdar Khan it was notorious many of them had received great injuries & oppressions; and so considerable a body of people, on proper representations being made in favour of Achind, will, it is likely, be considered at Court; but more especially as they have Nizam to back them. For these and many other reasons that might be given, he (the Chief) hopes he has acted for the best; but he can't help attributing Safdar Khan's compliance in a great measure to the critical arrival of the Augusta at the Bar with the men and stores sent up by the Hon'ble President and Council of Bombay

which, however, he had never sent for up to town, though often pressed to it by Damaji and Miah Achind; that it is with some pleasure he observes we have through the whole adhered to a strict neutrality. The Board, on duly weighing and considering all circumstances, unanimously approve of the Chief's proceedings in this important affair, not only as it respects the safety of the Hon'ble Company's Factory and effects here, but in reality the safety of the whole town, and has given a general satisfaction.

The Chief then acquaints the Board that Sidi Mufti, one of Safdar Khan's officers, was below, waiting for an answer to a request his Master had this morning made for liberty to reside at our garden-house; and as it is judged this can be attended with no ill consequences, and accommodating him with a dwelling for the present is suitable to us as mediators, and [*he*] judges likewise it may facilitate his evacuating the Darbar, it is agreed that the officer be called up and acquainted with our compliance; which he is accordingly.

1748 *Surat, 4th March, 1748 (1747, S. F. 637)*
Letter to Bombay.

Peace That we had now the satisfaction to advise them of matters being accommodated, and that on the 28th ultimo the gates of the city were delivered up to the former [*Achind*], and that the next day the latter [*Safdar Khan*] marched out at our garden, all military honours being allowed him, and to carry off all his effects, with indemnity likewise to all his adherents; which place, at his request, we gave him permission to reside at during his stay in these parts, as from his discharging a number of his people we could not apprehend any detriment would ensue therefrom; besides, as mediators, we thought [*it*] would be acting a becoming part to accommodate him in this manner, and likewise most reputable to the Hon'ble Company, and prevent the jealousy that would always have been entertained, had he removed to any house within the city-walls; whereas by his being without, this place was entirely relieved from all apprehensions, and business went on as usual. We, therefore, hoped they would approve thereof. These [*are*] the particulars relating to this negotiation. The Chief now wrote the Hon'ble President that Jaggannath's behaviour on this occasion merited great commendation; from his being seat[1], or head of the merchants, he had been found of great service in restoring peace to the city, and by his influence with Damaji he had prevailed on him quietly to withdraw the Ganims' forces to the other side of the river, whom Moyeen-ud-din Khan had called over to his assistance; all which was creditable to the Hon'ble Company in Surat as Jagannath was in their service.

1748 *Surat, 29th March, 1748 (1747, S. F. 637)*
Letter to Bombay.

Damaji's departure Wrote to the Hon'ble President and Council of Bombay, acquainting them that Damaji with all his forces were decamped from Pulparah and were now on their march for Songarh; that Jagannath, at Mir Moyeen-ud-din Khan's request, was employed to stipulate with this general the presents and money to be given him for his services; which having accomplished

1 *Seat* a corruption of *seth*, best or chief (Hobson-Jobson).

to the satisfaction of both parties, and the Ganims making this quiet retreat, the inhabitants were relieved from the apprehensions they had all along been under of those people; that Safdar Khan was retired to his own garden-house, finding ours too small for him ; and having discharged all his troops, except about 300 men, the city at present was in perfect tranquillity; that Muhammad Wiqar Khan, who was Governor of the Castle when taken, was set at liberty and lived in a private manner in town.

Bombay, 4th April, 1748 (1748 P. D. 21A). 1748
Letter from Surat.

Received per pattemar advices from the Chief and Factors at Surat, *Peace* dated the 29th ultimo [*29th March*], acquainting us that Damaji, the Ganim general, with all his forces was decamped from Pulparah and on his return to Songarh; that Jagannath, at Mir Moyeen-ud-din Khan's request had been employed to stipulate with that general the presents and money that was to be given him for his services; which having been accomplished to the satisfaction of both parties, and the Ganims making such a quiet retreat, the inhabitants were relieved from the apprehensions they had all along been under of those people; that Safdar Khan, finding our garden too small, had removed to his, [*after he*] had dismissed all his troops except about 300 men ; that Muhammad Wiqar Khan, Governor of the Castle (when taken), was set at liberty and lived in a private manner in town, so that at present the whole city of Surat was in perfect tranquillity.

Surat, 8th September, 1787 (1787, S. & P. D. 36) 1748
John Griffith to Rawson Hart Boddam.
Origin of Surat chauth levied by Marathas.

In 1748 Miah Achind, father of the present Nawab[1], applied to *Surat chauth* Damaji Gaikwad to assist him with troops to depose the Nawab Safdar Khan; which the Gaikwad complied with on condition that Miah Achind on his being made Nawab should defray the expenses of Damaji's armies and grant him a chauth or quarter part of the Surat revenues[2].

Surat, 2nd June, 1748 (1747, S. F. 637) 1748
Letter from Cambay.

Received two letters from Mr. Crommelin, dated the 28th and 30th *Cambay* ultimo, advising us that Khanderao with about 6,000 men came before Cambay and pitched his camp within musket-shot of the walls.

That the Nawab's vakil was sent to the enemy and returned with advice that Khanderao would accept of 75,000 Rupees and two gates of the town; which the Nawab refused to give them ; nor would he fire at their camp, so that they remain as they were; only that a party of 500 horse attempted to surprise a part of the suburb inhabitants (Kolis), but were repulsed with the loss of one man killed and four or five wounded.

1 Hafiz-ud-din, who was Nawab from 1763 to 1790 (*Gaz. Bom. Pres.* II, 129).
2 For the other parts of this account see *Index, Griffith.*

1748 *Surat, 11th June, 1748 (1747, S. F. 637)*
Letter to Bombay.

Cambay — That we had received advices from Mr. Crommelin at Cambay that Khanderao, the Ganim, had with 6,000 men encamped before that city, demanding a large sum of money; but that we since learnt by private letters matters were adjusted between him and the Government for Rupees 35,000.

1748 *Bombay, 19th June, 1748 (1748, P. D. 21A)*
Letter from Surat.

Cambay — That the late troubles in Surat, which lasted three months, greatly impeded the bringing in of goods during that time. That Mr. Crommelin informed them from Cambay that Khanderao, the Ganim general, with 6,000 men had encamped before that city, demanding a large sum of money; but the matter was since made up for the sum of Rupees 35,000.

1748 *Surat, 23rd June, 1748 (1747, S. F. 637)*
Letter from Cambay.

Cambay — Received a letter from Mr. Crommelin at Cambay, acknowledging the receipt of ours of the 2nd and acquainting us that, their Nawab agreeing to pay the Ganims Rs. 32,000, they went away the 11th instant; that of this sum they received 10,000 in hand, 14,000 to be paid in 3 months and 8,000 was allowed for the Nawab's loss in some towns they plundered: that, as they marched off but very slowly, none of the out-works were demolished, or the guards withdrawn till the 20th, when he likewise discharged the ten sepoys he had enlisted; that in future he should observe the Hon'ble Company's orders in standing neuter on such occasions, though he was sensible his refusing to comply with what had been practised many years and was looked upon as an established custom, would greatly disoblige the Government.

1748 *Bombay, 12th July, 1748 (1748, P. D. 21A)*
Letter from Surat.

Cambay — That they had received a confirmation from Cambay of the Ganim general having decamped from that city on matters being adjusted for 32,000 Rupees.

Surat, 28th September, 1748 (1748, P. D. 21B) 1748
Thomas Marsh[1] *to William Wake.*

Achind in trouble

The people of Surat know but one way of parting with their pice to the Durbar, as it is a place of credit, and that is by force. This they have been used to, and if Achind continues scrupulous in this point, I am in great doubt whether he will be able to keep his adversary out of the town, as his men are very slack without pay, and it is not to be doubted but Safdar Khan will bribe high to get a gate delivered up to him, so that we may shortly expect to be in a very troublesome situation, unless Achind can raise money; and if he can do that, he will raise friends apace. I apprehend his necessities will either drive him to seize some of the merchants' money or to enter into some agreement with the Ganims, whom the other [*Safdar*] has tempted with an offer of a quarter part of the revenues, if they side with him and he overcomes; and from such people all that Achind can expect is to have the preference if he will make the same offer, as he has not yet been able to make good his last money settlement made with Damaji for the assistance given him in the late war; besides, the Ganims have long had an eye upon sharing the revenues of this place, as they do those of Cambay.

Surat, 28th September, 1748 (1746-49, S. F. 8, I) 1748
Letter to Bombay.

Safdar K. at war

Wrote the Hon'ble President and Council of Bombay, advising them that Safdar Khan did on the 25th instant surprise three gates of the outward wall of the city in violation of the treaty subsisting between him and Mir Moyeen-ud-din Khan, and that the 26th he possessed himself of the killadar's sarai, a strong building near the inward wall, by bribing the officers of the Government. In the evening he began to raise batteries against the inward wall, and the same night made an attack upon the town, so that the gates are all shut, and war actually commenced, [*so that*] we could not send the sloop and gallivats to the northward, having been obliged to land the detachments for the safety of the Hon'ble Company's Factory. That since Safdar Khan's seizing the gates, he has been daily increasing his forces. It is judged he may have now about five thousand men, and Mir Moyeen-ud-din Khan about six thousand in the town and Castle. But, as the Chief now writes the Hon'ble the President fully on this head, which letter he has laid before us, we beg leave to be referred thereto. He also forwards translate of a rocca received last night from Safdar Khan. That we are sorry to acquaint them that this has put an entire stop to that part of the investment.

Surat, 15th October, 1748 (1746-49, S. F. 8, I) 1748
Letter to Bombay.

Safdar K. at war

We advised them that Safdar Khan continued his attack on the town, but without any considerable success, for which we had not yet landed any people from the Drake; but, should the circumstances of affairs hereafter require it, we should make use of the liberty given us.

---

1 Thomas Marsh, Chief at Surat.

1748 *Surat, 22nd October, 1748 (1746-49, S. F. 8 I)*
Coalition against Safdar Khan.

Coalition against Safdar K.

Sidi Masud visited the Chief this day, and after compliments and expressions of friendship talked on the unhappy situation of affairs in this city ; and said that, in case a speedy end was not put to the present calamities, they would soon occasion very fatal consequences; lamented the want of harmony in the principal people, and said that nothing but the uniting in the cause could prevent the ruin of Surat. Being asked what cause he meant, replied that of Moyeen-ud-din Khan. The Chief then asked him whom the merchants and principal inhabitants were desirous of; he said [*of*] Moyeen-ud-din Khan, but that till they dropped private animosities it would be a difficult matter to bring things to a happy issue . . . They all agreed that nothing but their and the principal inhabitants uniting in Moyeen-ud-din Khan's interest could put an end to the long pending troubles, and wished a public meeting might be held to agree on measures for the same. This evening Moyeen-ud-din Khan sent to the Chief to desire he would pay him a private visit next evening in the Castle; to which he consented.

1748 *Surat, 24th October, 1748 (1746-49, S. F. 8, I)*
Letter from Surat.

Measures against Safdar K.

We advised them of the unhappy posture of affairs in this city, our apprehensions that, if Safdar Khan should get admittance, he might again set it in flames, and that we thought it necessary to take the detachments out of each of the Grabs, with the second officer and thirty seamen out of the Restoration and the Doctor of Bombay.

1748 *Bombay, 16th November, 1750 (1749-54, P. D. Let. to Court of Dir. 2)*
Bombay to the Court of Directors.

State of Surat in 1748

In our address of the 8th May we advised Your Honour of your servants at Surat having contracted for your investment at that place with Babuji and Jafferbhoy, the persons who performed that of last year, and at much the same prices. Those contractors last year incurred a penalty of Rupees 2,795-38 pice on part of the investment 1748 not delivered in the time limited in their contract; which they requested of us might be remitted, as it was occasioned by the troubles at Surat and to the northward, which prevented their bringing in the goods so soon as they otherwise should have done;[1] which we being fully sensible of, and that no investment had been better performed in all respects than theirs, we agreed in consultation, the 18th April, in order to encourage them to exert themselves in the performance of the present, to remit the same, which, we hope, will meet with Your Honours' approval.

1748 *Surat, 17th December, 1748 (1746-49, S. F. 8, I)*
Letter to Bombay.

Safdar K. successful

Wrote the Hon'ble President and Council, advising of Safdar Khan's nearer approach to the walls and our apprehensions that either by force or treachery he might make himself master of the city.

---

1 This letter disproves the statement made in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, II, 123 that the struggles at Surat *were little more than street fights*, and that *trade suffered no interruption.*

Surat, 17th December, 1748 (1746-49, S. F. 8, I) 1748
Safdar Khan defeated.

This day Safdar Khan sent to the Chief to desire the liberty of the Hon'ble Company's garden, as it immediately joined to Osman Chellabi's, till the time of his embarking; which was readily granted; and in the evening he went hither, great part of his cannon, etc. being brought in the city, and the rest brought in by Achind's people. *Safdar K. defeated.*

Surat, 19th December, 1748 (1746-49, S. F. 8, I) 1748
At a Consultation.

Met this day to take into consideration a request that Safdar Khan through Sidi Masud has made to us of accommodating him with a commodious vessel to carry him to Sind; which being seconded by the earnest request of Nawab Achind and all the principal merchants of the place, the inconveniences and dangers of fresh troubles being duly considered, it is unanimously agreed to furnish him with the Bombay Grab, provided he embarks by the 25th instant. *Safdar K. anxious to go*

Surat, 20th December, 1748 (1746-49, S. F. 8, I) 1748
Surat to Bombay.

In our last Safdar Khan has removed from his garden to ours, which we permitted him to reside at, as Osman Chellabi's was not commodious enough for him. Yesterday morning Sidi Masud came to the Factory and acquainted us that, as Safdar Khan had now removed and was making up his affairs, he was very desirous of a speedy departure, provided he was allowed a passage on one of our grabs to Sind; which he earnestly requested we would gratify him in, as he rather chose to proceed on our vessels than any others; which being agreeable to Miah Achind, and all the merchants and inhabitants of the place joining in Safdar Khan's request, we have consented to send the Bombay Grab, provided he embarks by the 25th; which, we hope, will meet with Your Honour, &ca's approval, especially as it will prevent any further troubles in the city, which we have too much reason to apprehend; the Dutch on the arrival of their ships would spirit Safdar Khan up to commence again. *Safdar K. defeated*

Surat, 25th December, 1748, (1746-49, S. F. 8, I) 1748
Departure of Safdar Khan.

This night at near 12 o'clock Safdar Khan embarked on board the Hon'ble Company's bunder-pinnace to proceed to the Bar. *Safdar K. departs*

Surat, 30th December, 1748, (1746-49, S. F. 8, I) 1748
Surat to Bombay.

As the Ganims still continue to stop the roads and distress the city on account of the promises made them during the late troubles, we have kept an ensign detachment and a company of sepoys, till we see how matters are likely to terminate. That we shall use our endeavours that the expenses during the troubles are paid us by the Governor. *Trade interference*

Surat, 30th December, 1748 (1746-49, S. F. 8, I) 1748
Surat to the Court of Directors.

Safdar Khan lived very peacefully at a garden between the walls for some months; but at the instigation of the Dutch and a promise of *Summary of events*

assistance on the arrival of their ships, which were then expected, he on the 25th September attacked and took a place belonging to the Government; after which success a number of men entered into his service, and he raised several batteries, which played on the inner wall of the city, threatening to burn it to ashes in case he entered, and in particular declared that our Factory should first feel his resentment, as he looked upon us as the cause of his misfortunes, although we did not engage on either side, which we have great reason to apprehend he was encouraged to by the Dutch. Affairs being in this situation, we advised the Hon'ble President and Council of Bombay thereof, who upon our representation sent up a force to be employed at discretion; and as the many ill consequences to be apprehended from Safdar Khan's entering the city were so justly dreaded by the inhabitants, and his long and implacable hatred to our nation so well known, we found it absolutely necessary for the security of Your Honours' effects and our own lives to succour Miah Achind; which was approved of by the Hon'ble President and Council of Bombay; and we have the satisfaction to acquaint Your Honours that your forces twice engaged[1] the enemy and made a great slaughter, killing most of their officers, and with the loss of only eight men; which obliged Safdar Khan to come to an accommodation; and terms being agreed on, he delivered up his cannon, ammunition, elephants, etc. to Miah Achind, the present Governor. Yesterday came to hand a letter from the Hon'ble President and Council, wherein they approve on the whole of our management during these troubles. Safdar Khan requesting we would grant him a passage on one of Your Honours' cruisers to Sind, which being agreeable to Miah Achind, and the merchants joining in his [*Safdar Khan's*] request, we consented thereto; and he embarked the 26th. By his departure tranquillity is restored to the city, and trade will again revive, which has greatly suffered during these commotions, in so much that the Surat merchants, who are considerable purchasers at Your Honours' sales at Bombay, could not be prevailed on to appoint their agents; of which we advised the Hon'ble President and Council, and the intended sale was accordingly put off. We therefore hope our proceedings will meet with Your Honours' concurrence, as we shall take due care that the expense incurred on this occasion is reimbursed us by the Government.

1749 *Surat, 29th January, 1749 (1746-49, S. F. S, I)*
Letter from Bombay.

Safdar K. in Bombay

Received a letter from the Hon'ble President and Council of Bombay, advising us that the Bombay Grab, meeting with hard weather on the coast of Sind, at Safdar Khan's pressing request, put back for that port and arrived the 7th instant; when he came ashore, having been promised protection by the President with permission to go away when and where he pleases, except to Surat.

1749 *Surat, 15th March, 1749 (1746-49, S. F. S, I)*
Letter from Cambay.

Boat seized

Received a letter from Mr. Price at Cambay, advising us that on the 8th instant he was informed that the Ganims at Jambusar intended to

1 The active part which the British troops took in supporting Miah Achind against Safdar Khan is not mentioned in the message sent from Surat to Bombay.

seize the Modi's boat under pretence of her being stranded; upon which he immediately sent a letter thither to let them know that the boat was not in the least damaged, but was only obliged to remain there for want of water to come over to the bunder; that she was the property of the English and had goods of the Hon'ble Company's on board. Therefore he expected they would release her. That the 10th he likewise wrote another letter to acquaint them that, as the springs were far advanced, if she was not soon released in order for her proceeding hither, he did not doubt but we should resent it.

Surat, 1st April, 1749 (1746-49, S. F. S, I) 1749
Letter from Bombay.

That further we admit that the Ganims infesting the city is a great hindrance to the bringing in goods from out-parts, which have been long provided. *Bombay views*

Surat, 5th April, 1749 (1746-49, S. F. S, I) 1749
Letter to Bombay.

That the Ganims still continue to block up this city; but, as they are now retreating, and it must be both for the interest of the Governor of the city as well as them to come to reasonable terms, as otherwise the place can't be supplied with provisions sufficient for the rains, and they have large quantities on their hands to dispose of, we shall therefore defer receiving proposals till we see whether the country opens. *Brighter prospects*

Bombay, 2nd May, 1749 (1746-49, P. D. Let. to Court of Dir. IA) 1749
Bombay to the Court of Directors.

When they (ships) came away, the city [*Surat*] was in tranquillity within itself, but without infested by the Ganims, who impeded all manner of provisions going in on account of a large sum of money the Governor engaged to give them for their assistance in the late troubles. *Situation at Surat*

The Ganims still continuing to infest the city of Surat, as above mentioned, we for our parts do not think such a situation on many accounts proper to contract for your Surat investment; but, as the Chief and Factors there seem to be of a contrary opinion, we have given them our sentiments fully thereon, leaving it to them on the spot not to omit the most favourable opportunity of contracting.

Bombay, 18th June, 1749 (1746-49, P. D. Let. to Court of Dir. IA) 1749
Bombay to the Court of Directors.

The Surat Government having settled matters with the Ganims, your Chief and Factors, after affixing the usual notifications, received proposals from different sets of merchants for your investment, the lowest of which have been accepted, being cheaper than those of late years, and were given in by creditable and substantial men, with whom we have not before contracted. *Surat investment*

Bombay, 26th September, 1749 (1746-49, P. D. Let. to Court of Dir. IA) 1749
Bombay to the Court of Directors.

By the trouble that has subsisted in Surat for these two years past, obstructing them in the performance of their contract, but which we shall take care is speedily made good to Your Honours. *Losses*

No. 6. DAMAJI'S FLEET (1750)

THE extracts under this heading deal with Damaji's fleet under the command of Appajirao, also called Gopalrao, the Bílimora pandit. It is difficult to make out from the documents to what extent the fleet was really Damaji's; for, whilst the Bombay authorities sanctioned the expedition in conjunction with the Dutch of Surat against Damaji's fleet, they at the same time gave orders that nothing should be attempted against Damaji who was not a public enemy. The Dutch Director on his part gave orders not to interfere with Damaji to the south of Surat, but not to spare him to the north of Surat. The relation between Damaji and Appajirao is not indicated in the documents, though it is *mentioned elsewhere that, when Damaji was made a prisoner by the Peshwa, Appajirao thought of seeking the protection* of the Sidi.

DOCUMENTS

1750 *Surat, 17th November, 1750 (1750-51, S. F. S II)*
Surat to Bombay.

Damaji's fleet

The Dutch Director having lately proposed to the Chief to join our vessels to destroy Damaji's piratical gallivats, which of late have been very insolent and attacked every vessel they met, we beg leave to represent this to Your Honour, etc. as a very necessary undertaking and much more easy to be put in execution at present than it will be hereafter, as they grow stronger.

1750 *Bombay, 23rd November, 1750 (1750, P. D. 23B)*
Surat to Bombay.

Damaji's fleet

Per pattemar came to hand a letter from the Chief and Factors at Surat, dated the 17th instant. That the Dutch Directors had lately proposed to the Chief to join their vessels to destroy Damaji's piratical gallivats, which have been very insolent and attack every vessel they meet; which the Chief and Factors represent as very necessary. That

the Dutch had also proposed to join them to attack and destroy the Sultanpur Kolis; but, as it cannot be done without an addition to their force of eight or ten fishing boats and about two hundred men with small arms, they also recommend this step to our consideration. That their cruisers had taken two fishing boats and a botella with Damaji's pass, which they detain till they receive our orders how to dispose of them.

Bombay, 30th November, 1750 (1750, P. D. 23B) 1750
At a Consultation.

Bombay orders

In respect to the vessels they have seized with Damaji's pass, they must be directed to return them to the owners, in case they do not belong to any public enemy, which the Board does not esteem Damaji to be.

As to what they mention about joining their cruisers with the Dutch in order to destroy the piratical gallivats belonging to Bilimora, they may do it, in case they think their forces sufficient; but no military can at present be spared them to attack the Sultanpur Kolis.

Surat, 1st December, 1750 (1750-51, S. F. 8, II) 1750
At a Consultation.

Naval expedition

The Chief calls this meeting to acquaint the Board that the Dutch Director had proposed to him to join us with a force and make an attempt to destroy the piratical vessels under the order of Appajirao; which is agreed to, provided we do not attack any port belonging to Damaji or those in friendship with the English.

Surat, 1st December, 1750 (1750-51, S. F. 8, II) 1750
Orders to Captain John Sanders.

Bombay orders

You are to proceed in search of the fleet under the orders of Appaji Gopal(commonly called Damaji's); all which you are to use your utmost endeavours to take, burn, sink or otherwise destroy, if you meet them on the high seas or any rivers or creeks to the northward of this Bar, unless it be in a port of harbour belonging to Damaji or any of our allies; but on no account to risk any of your people on shore to act in a hostile manner.

Surat, 1st December, 1750 (1750-51, S. F. 8, II) 1750
Dutch Directors' orders.

Dutch orders

Translate of the Dutch Director and Council's instructions to Captain William Servis.

As the Bilimora pandit, Appaji Gopal, cruises with the fleet, called Damaji's, against his will[1] and shows his insolence daily more and more, in so much that he lets nobody go unmolested, as he has shown the small ship Speeleman and the luggage-boat Last Drager, who were forced to maintain a sharp engagement for full three hours against eleven gallivats, leaving behind them a particular boat that was under their comvoy. To tame his increasing insolence as well as to revenge the wrong done us and likewise to keep under this growing power, we thought proper to resolve in Council this 10th November to draw all the Company's force

1 This can only mean *against Damaji's will*, so that the fleet either did not belong to Damaji, or, if it did, acted piratically without Damaji's consent, or in despite of his orders.

together and after strengthening it as much as possible to join with the English to put this in execution. You are hereby, as soon as you are out of the river, to join with the squadron of the English and, thus combined, to go in search of the Bilimora sea-rovers, and attack, burn and destroy him wherever you can find him to the northward of Surat-road, in the sea, rivers, or creeks, no place excepted; but not in any river to the southward of this road, belonging by an acquired power to Damaji, not to give him any reason of discontent. Thus will require your and Captain Sander's particular care as commanders over the squadron not to cut off his pass to fly to the river to the southward. You may ruin and destroy him as well before those rivers as to the northward, but may not come within, or over, any bar of any river to the southward, as is already directed, but well, without, or before them. You are also *not to land on any place but only to destroy the vessels.*

1750 *Surat, 11th December, 1750 (1750-51, S. F. 8, II)*
The naval expedition.

Kolis punished The last springs our cruisers in company with those of the Dutch went in search of the Bilimora piratical gallivats; but not falling in with them held a consultation, and judging themselves strong enough, went to Sultanpur and destroyed fifteen sails or vessels belonging to the Kolis.

1750 *Bombay, 13th December, 1750 (1750, P. D. 23B)*
Surat to Bombay.

Damaji's ship restored Per pattemar came to hand advices from the Chief and Factors at Surat, dated the 6th and 11th *instant*. That their vessels in company with those of the Dutch were on a cruise after the piratical gallivats of Bilimora. That the commanders of their three vessels had acquainted them they were not strong enough to proceed to the northward with a convoy without the Shark; they therefore desire she may be sent up as soon as possible. That, as the botella and fishing boats do not belong to any public enemy but to Damaji, they shall release them.

No. 7. RENEWED STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY BETWEEN MIAH ACHIND AND SAFDAR KHAN (1750-1753)

THE *Gazetter of the Bombay Presidency* gives a mere outline of this unexpected revolution, whilst the *Surat Diaries* supply us with a detailed account, which gives us an insight into the nature of this contest. It was apparently an old family feud between Miah Achind and Safdar Khan; but in reality it proved to be a triangular conflict; in which the Sidi, the Dutch and the English were involved, everyone of them anxious to secure for himself a preponderance that would enable him to lay down the law to the others. The Sidi wanted the Castle; the Dutch were anxious to obtain trading privileges; and the English were bent on getting rid both of the Sidi and the Dutch. Damaji profited by the disturbances to snatch away a half of the bone about which the three others were fighting; but he was not allowed to enjoy the spoils in peace; for the Peshwa interfered and claimed his share. Such were the principal actors in the revolutionary drama, in which Miah Achind and Safdar Khan played rather an insignificant role; so far from being the stars of the show they were little more than supernumeraries.

DOCUMENTS

Bombay, 29th January, 1750 (1749-54, P. D. Let. to Court of Dir. 2) 1750
Bombay to the Court of Directors.

Situation in Surat

We have in our former advices observed that the Mogul's authority is little regarded in distant parts of his dominions, and that the Marathas will in all probability subject the city of Surat to their government.

They now want to share the customs with the present Governor,[1] who may probably acquiesce to it, as he must otherwise be at a greater expense than he can well bear to support himself in his government against them; which creates great discontent in the city, in so much as it is not improbable but the chief merchants and others may either call in their old Governor,[2] now at Tatta, or make a new one; in which case all due care shall be taken that Your Honours' privileges be preserved; but for the two years past we have been obliged to keep some of our military there to prevent such ills ensuing to the Factory as generally happen from sudden and disorderly commotions; which has created some exceedings in the expense of that Factory, although all the extraordinary expense of the late troubles have been fully discharged by the present Governor.

1751 *Surat, 8th January, 1751 (1750-51, S. F. 8, II)*
Surat to Bombay.

Beginning of trouble Some days ago Miah Achind having some words with Ali Nawaz Khan, his cousin, the custom-master, forbade him coming to the Castle or Darbar, and took from him most of his equipage, furniture and cash, and ordered him to depart the town; on which he retired to a garden, promising to depart in a few days. But, instead of that, has taken refuge at the house of Saïd Zeen, where two of Achind's disaffected officers and several of Safdar Khan's slaves have lately taken shelter under the protection of Sidi Masud, whose people yesterday, on Achind's porters refusing to open the gates to let in the horses and furniture of Ali Nawaz Khan, broke them open and carried the horses, etc. to the house of Saïd Zeem. This has so alarmed Achind that he is making entrenchments before the Castle and all round the Darbar; which has so intimidated the merchants that they have removed all their goods from the bunder to their own houses.

1751 *Surat, 31st January, 1751 (1750-51, S. F. 8, II)*
At a Consultation.

Surat merchants The principal merchants and shroffs, waiting on the Chief this morning and informing him they wanted to consult with us what was proper to be done in order to get the Ganims out of the town and if possible put an end to the disputes between the Sidi and the Governor on account of his screening his cousin, Ali Nawaz Khan, who fled to him, and they acquainted him that the Governor would engage that the Ganims should leave the town as soon as Ali Nawaz Khan should depart. The Chief assembled the members of the Board, and after a long debate it was agreed that the merchants, accompanied by our Modi, (who acts as vakil) should go to the Sidi and acquaint him with what Achind said, and to acquaint [*request*] him [*he*] would, as he had promised, see that Ali Nawaz Khan departed soon; and a messenger was sent him that they were coming; but he desired they would defer so doing till the afternoon. On which the merchants took leave, promising to meet us again at four

Appeal to Sidi

1 The Governor here alluded to is Miah Achind who with the help of Damaji had expelled Safdar Khan from Surat (*Gaz. Bar. State*, I, 451).

2 Safdar Khan and his son, Wiqar Khan, came back to Surat in 1751 (*Gaz. Bom. Pres.* II, 123).

It is reported the Sidi has promised the Dutch that they shall begin on their works in two days. *The Dutch*

We hold the Factory in a good posture of defence. Our vessels we keep near at hand and have possession of the city-gate to the water-side near our Factory. The keys of all the other gates are in possession of the Sidi. *Factory safe*

Surat, 12th April, 1751 (1750-51, S. F. 8, II) 1751

At a Consultation.

This meeting is called to take into consideration Miah Achind's request of sending two of our Board to the Castle to confer with him; which being thought reasonable, Messrs Delagarde and Hunt waited on him. The purport of what passed is entered at full after this consultation. *Safdar's request*

Surat, 12th April, 1751 (1750-51, S. F. 8, II) 1751

Report of Messrs Delagarde and Hunt, their conference with Miah Achind.

After being received in a very friendly manner Miah Achind represented to us the distressed condition the town was reduced to through the Sidi's acting in open opposition to him, putting Ali Nawaz in possession of the Darbar, and declaring Safdar Khan Governor; and that he had no hopes of reducing his enemies and settling the town in tranquillity again without the assistance of the Hon'ble Company, by whose means he had been placed in the government; and that, as he had not either before or since acted contrary to their interest, he hoped the Hon'ble Company would still protect him. He likewise represented that the Sidi, attempting to bring in Safdar Khan in open defiance of the English, after having been so lately turned out by the Hon'ble Company's forces[1] for his oppression of the merchants of the town and misbehaviour towards them, was not only an instance of his presumption, but that, if he succeeded, must prove fatal to the Hon'ble Company's affairs at this place, as the Dutch had joined his party on promise of being permitted to build a fortress and enjoy particular privileges. *Achind's views*

In answer to all which he was assured that, although the Hon'ble Company continued the same friendship for him as formerly, the lateness of the season and the present occasion for their forces in other parts rendered it impossible for them (we feared) to afford him their assistance at this juncture otherwise than by their good offices as mediators. That therefore, if he could think of any proposals for a treaty towards settling the town in tranquillity and putting an end to the great calamities which he laboured under, that in such case we should be earnest in endeavouring to bring matters to a speedy and happy conclusion. *Envoys' reply*

In reply to which he told us that he had no terms to propose that were likely to effect a peace with the Sidi; for that he was determined to defend himself in the Castle, and to the utmost of his power would endeavour to recover the Darbar, and still hoped the Hon'ble Company would afford him their assistance as the most effectual means of finishing the troubles; without which he intimated that his extremities might be a means of the Castle's falling into the hands of his enemies, rather *Achind's proposal*

1 See letter of the 30th December, 1748, to the Court of Directors.

1751 *Surat, 5th April, 1751 (1750-51, S. F. 8, II)*
Surat to Bombay.

Fight begins

This is dispatched express to acquaint Your Honour, etc. that early this morning Miah Achind, the Governor, sent to acquaint Sidi Masud that he could not with patience any longer bear Ali Nawaz Khan to remain in town; and that he was determined on this day to oblige him to depart by force; and that he expected he would not only, according to his promise publicly given, suffer him quietly so to do, but as the King's officer he would be assisting to him; to which he returned for answer that Ali Nawaz Khan should remain here, and that he would protect him in so doing. On which, about eight this morning, Miah Achind began to fire on the Sidi, and both sides have been warmly engaged ever since, though with little loss on either side, Safdar Khan's son, all his late officers and slaves have declared for the Sidi and make a very strong party, though as yet they do not seem to have gained any advantage. We are putting the Factory in the best posture of defence we are able; and as we expect our cruisers from the northward this evening or to-morrow at farthest, do not esteem ourselves to be in any danger.

We judge now things cannot be accommodated without the fall of either Achind or the Sidi; as yet neither of them have dared to molest us, and we keep on the defensive till we receive Your Honour, &ca's further directions.

1751 *Surat, 6th April, 1751 (1750-51, S. F. 8, II)*
Surat to Bombay.

A.N. Khan's success

This serves chiefly to enclose duplicate of our address of yesterday's date and to advise Your Honour, etc. that this morning Ali Nawaz took possession of the Darbar through the treachery of some of Miah Achind's officers who had the command of that place; since which, Sidi Masud has publicly by beat of drum caused Safdar Khan to be declared Governor of the town. About five hundred houses since yesterday have been destroyed by fire, and Miah Achind is now retired with all his people in and under the Castle guns.

1751 *Surat, 9th April, 1751 (1750-51, S. F. 8, II)*
Surat to Bombay.

Sidi's aim

Since the seizure of the Darbar the Sidi and Safdar Khan's slaves have seized on four merchants and shroffs, and forced from them upwards of 40,000 Rupees, and it's thought will continue these practices to the great distress of the town.

The Marathas

Achind's people have this day made a sally, and destroyed the batteries which the other party were raising against the Castle, and from the cannon therein greatly annoys them. He reports he has provisions and ammunition for two years, and that he will defend it to the utmost. On the other hand the Sidi declares he intends to take, and make himself master of, the Castle, and establish Safdar Khan Governor of the Darbar. The Ganims are retired out of town, but stop provisions and trade of all kinds from coming in, and threaten to return with great numbers of men to revenge the Sidi's burning the house of Madhavrao, one of their principal officers.

It is reported the Sidi has promised the Dutch that they shall begin on their works in two days. *The Dutch*

We hold the Factory in a good posture of defence. Our vessels we keep near at hand and have possession of the city-gate to the water-side near our Factory. The keys of all the other gates are in possession of the Sidi. *Factory safe*

Surat, 12th April, 1751 (1750-51, S. F. 8, II) 1751
At a Consultation.

This meeting is called to take into consideration Miah Achind's request of sending two of our Board to the Castle to confer with him; which being thought reasonable, Messrs Delagarde and Hunt waited on him. The purport of what passed is entered at full after this consultation. *Safdar's request*

Surat, 12th April, 1751 (1750-51, S. F. 8, II) 1751
Report of Messrs Delagarde and Hunt, their conference with Miah Achind.

After being received in a very friendly manner Miah Achind represented to us the distressed condition the town was reduced to through the Sidi's acting in open opposition to him, putting Ali Nawaz in possession of the Darbar, and declaring Safdar Khan Governor; and that he had no hopes of reducing his enemies and settling the town in tranquillity again without the assistance of the Hon'ble Company, by whose means he had been placed in the government; and that, as he had not either before or since acted contrary to their interest, he hoped the Hon'ble Company would still protect him. He likewise represented that the Sidi, attempting to bring in Safdar Khan in open defiance of the English, after having been so lately turned out by the Hon'ble Company's forces[1] for his oppression of the merchants of the town and misbehaviour towards them, was not only an instance of his presumption, but that, if he succeeded, must prove fatal to the Hon'ble Company's affairs at this place, as the Dutch had joined his party on promise of being permitted to build a fortress and enjoy particular privileges. *Achind's views*

In answer to all which he was assured that, although the Hon'ble Company continued the same friendship for him as formerly, the lateness of the season and the present occasion for their forces in other parts rendered it impossible for them (we feared) to afford him their assistance at this juncture otherwise than by their good offices as mediators. That therefore, if he could think of any proposals for a treaty towards settling the town in tranquillity and putting an end to the great calamities which he laboured under, that in such case we should be earnest in endeavouring to bring matters to a speedy and happy conclusion. *Envoys' reply*

In reply to which he told us that he had no terms to propose that were likely to effect a peace with the Sidi; for that he was determined to defend himself in the Castle, and to the utmost of his power would endeavour to recover the Darbar, and still hoped the Hon'ble Company would afford him their assistance as the most effectual means of finishing the troubles; without which he intimated that his extremities might be a means of the Castle's falling into the hands of his enemies, rather *Achind's proposal*

1 See letter of the 30th December, 1748, to the Court of Directors.

than which he offered to deliver the Castle into the Hon'ble Company's possession with all its revenues, provided they would agree to put him in possession of the Darbar. This, we told him, was a proposal we could not listen to, but he strenuously insisted that we should recommend it to the Hon'ble President and Council's consideration and get a speedy answer, and then dispatched us with the strongest injunctions to secrecy, and insisted on having Mr. Lambe's and the rest of the Gentlemen's answers sent him the next day.

Envoys' reply

1751 *Surat, 13th April, 1751 (1750-51, S. F. 8, II)*
Miah Achind's request.

Achind's proposals Upon our Modi's being sent this day to give the answer, which Achind made Messrs Delagarde and Hunt *promise yesterday, and to* desire to know whether he had any terms of peace to propose, he again begged that we would write the Hon'ble the President and Council of the proposal he made yesterday, that he was desirous to give up the Castle with all its revenues, provided only they would only engage to fix him in the Darbar.

1751 *Surat, 13th April, 1751 (1750-51, S. F. 8, II)*
Surat to Bombay.

The Dutch It is now publicly reported in town that the Dutch have agreed to introduce Safdar Khan into the government of the town, on condition that he shall give them a firman the same as the Hon'ble Company to pay only 10,000 Rupees annually in lieu of customs, and that they have permission granted them to build on their wharf such works as they shall think proper, and land all their goods there; and it's said the Sidi and Safdar Khan's slaves have given them a written grant for these three articles on his behalf; on which they publicly assisted his party with powder and shot; and the day they were engaged, Muncher and several Dutch servants were publicly seen delivering them out ammunition, water and provisions.

1751 *Surat, 13th April, 1751 (1750-51, S. F. 8, II)*
Surat to Bombay.

The Sidi The Sidi's aim, he said, is to fix himself in the Castle and shake off his allegiance to Rajapur, and by means of his fleet and Castle to keep the Governor of the town continually in awe.

The Dutch Yesterday morning Muhammad Wiqar Khan, in behalf of his father, Safdar Khan, gave leave and orders to the bricklayers to work on the Dutch wall, and they have this day actually begun to sift and mix up the chunam.

1751 *Surat, 17th April, 1751 (1750-51, S. F. 8, II)*
Surat to Bombay.

Hopeful outlook As yet Achind makes a bold stand in the Castle; not one battery against him has done the least harm; on the contrary the enemy have lost numbers of men in attempting to raise them, and for want of ammunition and money grow daily dissatisfied with one another, and do not seem to be likely to agree about the office each man proposes for himself. Achind has the water-side open, and provisions and men come

in as often as he wants them. He has some batteries before the Castle from which his people make some successful sallies.

Molested

Agreeable to Your Honour, &ca's possitive orders we have not espoused either party, but content ourselves with securing the Hon'ble Company's Factory and effects in the best way we can, notwithstanding the Sidi's people daily molest the boats going down to the Hon'ble Company's vessels; yesterday in particular they stopped a pinnace, which was going down with carpenters and stores to the Shark cruiser, and took out all the stores, and beat the lascars and carpenters violently. When we complain to the Sidi of these insults, he coldly says they are not done by his order, and that, if we can find out the people, he will punish them, but takes no pains to find them out himself.

Factory in danger

We are but too credibly informed that at night, in a consultation of all the officers of Safdar Khan's party, it was resolved to burn the Factory as soon as the fair monsoon is over, and all the Hon'ble Company's vessels gone from the Bar. Sidi Mufta (the next officer to the old Sidi) proposed putting the scheme in execution immediately; but the old Sidi was of opinion that it was more prudent to defer it till all the Hon'ble Company's vessels are gone for the season, as it is out of Your Honour, &ca's, power to send us up any men; and they resolved according to his opinion. It is impossible with the number of men we have to prevent this Factory being fired when we are attacked, and at the same time defend ourselves, as it is surrounded by a great number of houses, which are not commanded by any part of our Factory. Being well convinced of the truth of this resolution, we thought it most prudent to send Your Honour etc. 30,000 Rupees of the Company's cash lying here, that their risk may be as small as possible, more especially as we shall have no occasion for it till after the rains.

Fearless attitude

We have just now received a message form the Sidi, telling us not to send any of the Hon'ble Company's goods by boats from our water-gate but by land to his bunder and ship them off there. We returned for answer that we were determined to have the river open for our boats, and that, if he stopped any of them, we should be obliged to repel force by force.

Surat, 18th April, 1751 (1750-51, S. F. 8, II) 1751
Letter from Bombay.

Bombay orders

As you say that you have forces sufficient to defend yourselves and the Hon'ble Company's Factory, we would have you observe a strict neutrality and on no account engage yourselves as principals on either side, as we cannot at present spare any more forces to support you, nor have we conveyances to send them, could they be spared.

Surat, 25th April, 1751 (1750-51, S. F. 8, II) 1751
Letter from Bombay.

Bombay orders

From what you write us of the situation of affairs, there is but too much reason to believe that the Sidi will carry his point in replacing Safdar Khan in the government of Surat; nor is it in our power at this time to act openly in the obstruction of it, having no forces to spare; and if we had, it would be impossible to send them from the lateness of the season. We can therefore only repeat what we wrote you in our

last, *viz.* that, as you judge you have sufficient forces to defend yourselves, you are to observe a strict neutrality and by no means engage as parties on either side.

1751 *Surat, 27th April, 1751 (1750-51, S. F. 8, II)*
Surat to Bombay.

Situation in Surat In regard to the troubles in town we shall strictly follow Your Honour, &ca's orders and not engage as parties on either side. At present there seems to be little appearance of Safdar Khan's taking quiet possession of the government, Miah Achind seeming also likely bent on maintaining himself in the Castle, from whence he daily by his fire kills some of the people belonging to the other party and destroys their batteries.

1751 *Surat, 28th April, 1751 (1750-51, S. F. 8, II)*
Surat to Bombay.

Treachery This is purposely to advise you that in the evening the Chief received a message from Miah Achind, acquainting him that upon his having intelligence that three of his officers, who had the charge of the Castle-gate, had a design to deliver it up to the Sidi, that he had thereupon confined them and the same evening intercepted letters from the Sidi to the said officers, which confirmed it, and found that the Sidi attacking the Castle the 26th in the morning so briskly was owing to the promise he had been made by the said officers of delivering to him the gate without opposition; which he fortunately prevented by his intelligence of this design, and killed about forty of the Sidi's men in the attack.

1751 *Surat, 28th April, 1751 (1750-51, S. F., 8, II)*
Letter from Bombay.

Bombay hesitates Miah Achind's proposals of putting us in possession of the Castle and its revenues, on condition we settle him in the Darbar, must unavoidably engage us as a party in a war, which at this time of the year we are by no means able to support, having no vessels to transport any forces, were we inclined to send them; neither do you acquaint us what those revenues are, or whether they would answer the undertaking. Things of such consequences require your being much fuller.

The Dutch We cannot doubt but you will use all means in your power to prevent the Dutch carrying on their fortifications or getting any grants which may be of any validity, which we can't think any obtained from this rabble can be.

1751 *Surat, 1st May, 1751 (1750-51, S. F. 8, II)*
Surat to Bombay.

Achind's proposals If this proposal [*Miah Achind's*] is accepted, Miah Achind will give the Hon'ble Company the revenues of the Castle, which were formerly 1,00,000 Rupees per annum, arising from the rents of four villages, but, since the Ganims are grown so powerful in these parts, these rents are reduced to 22,000, and 10,000 Rupees more is now paid by the Governor of the town; and the Sidi's tankha, which is a certain fixed proportion of the customs, and other revenues were formerly 3,00,000 Rupees per annum, but is now reduced to from 1,65,000 to 1,75,000 Rupees per

annum through the decay of trade; and for both these and the government of the Castle, the Mogul's firman, we judge, may be easily procured. The possession of the Castle would put the Hon'ble Company's affairs, and the English trade in this city on a very secure footing.

We shall carefully watch every opportunity that offers to prevent the Dutch carrying on their works; but, unless the Governor of the town is a friend to the English, it will be entirely out of our power to prevent it. *The Dutch*

Yesterday the Sidi desired that the principal merchants might come to the Factory in order to confer about settling the town; and accordingly they came; but instead of making any proposals, they ony asked us why we put the Factory in a posture of defence. We answered that circumstances of affairs required it and assured them of our earnest desire to make peace, desiring them to go back to the Sidi and consider with him of some method of settling the town, and return to us with his proposals. This day they went to him; when the Sidi desired them to meet at Sidi Zeem's to consult about it, but fir-t insisted that the first proposal they should make should be his being put in possession of the Castle. Upon which the merchants declared to him that it seemed to them that the English had intentions to make peace, of which this his proposal had not the appearance, and immediately took their leave and went home. *Sidi's aim*

Surat, 3rd May, 1751 (1750-51, S. F. 8, II) 1751
Intercepted Letter.

Extract from a letter from Coja Vertanus, the contractor for the Hon'ble Company's investment, to Muncher, the Dutch broker: letter intercepted and opened by the Surat Chief and Council. *Damaji in danger*

Sohrabji wrote you concerning Damaji. I hope you received his letter. Nana has wrote from Hyderabad to his brother at Satara not to let Damaji escape alive, but to kill him. He is now surrounded by 25,000 of Nana's forces.

Surat, 3rd May, 175 (1750-51, S. F. 8, II) 1751
Intercepted Letter.

Extract from a letter of Nasserwanji to Muncher, the Dutch broker: letter intercepted and opened by the Surat Chief and Council. *Damaji in danger*
Damaji is surrounded by Nana's forces.

Bombay, 10th May, 1751 (1749-54, P. D. Let. to Court of Dir. 2) 1751
Bombay to the Court of Directors.

On the 5th ultimo Miah Achind, the Governor of Surat, and a body of malcontents headed by the Sidi came to an open rupture, occasioned by a dispute between the said Miah Achind and his nephew, Ali Nawaz Khan, whom his uncle had formerly put great confidence in, but had disgraced him at present and turned him out of town. He returned in disguise and joined Sidi Masud and all the late Governor's (Safdar Khan) friends who were disaffected to the Governor Miah Achind, who demanded that Sidi Masud should put Ali Nawar Khan out of town, conformable to a promise he had made him; but instead of complying, he sent the *Summary of events*

Governor word that he would protect him in the town; on which the Governor began to fire the Castle-guns on Sidi Masud's house. This put the whole town in arms, and some hundreds of them fell the same day. The second day, by the treachery of some of the Governor's officers, Ali Nawaz Khan got possession of the Darbar, and they drove a body of Ganims out of town, whom Miah Achind had brought in for his own security. The malcontents were no sooner possessed of the Darbar, but they proclaimed Safdar Khan (former Governor) Governor of Surat; and it is supposed that Sidi Masud intends to make himself Governor of the Castle when he takes it, of which there seems no great probability, as Miah Achind's cannon from the Castle has levelled all the works they have yet attempted to raise; and he is well stocked with ammunition and provisions, both which the malcontents are short of. Sidi Masud, we know, sent some vessels to Sind to bring Safdar Khan over; but it is doubted whether he will come without the consent of the English, which was never asked before they proclaimed him Governor. The Dutch, it is said, have given Sidi Masud a sum of money and supplied him with a very small quantity of gunpowder (one candy being all they would spare) on his promise they shall carry on their work, and they had actually begun to mix chunam and other materials. Great number of houses are burnt, others plundered, and many persons have lost their lives.

Before they came to extremities, your President used all possible means to prevent it by writing to both parties and by getting Commodore Lisle to let some of the King's ships lay at the Bar; which kept them for some time in awe, till four ships were loaded with freight-goods out of the town for the Gulph of Mocha and Persia, and Mr. Lisle's time of departure approached. Our Gentlemen at Surat had orders to observe a strict neutrality, and they have frequently assured us that they have strength sufficient to defend the Factory, should anybody attack them, which, we think, they will not venture to do. How this affair may end we cannot pretend to say; but, should the malcontents carry their point in reinstating Safdar Khan in the government of the town, we make no doubt of having Your Honour's firman and privileges continued in as ample a manner as ever. This affair happens at an unlucky juncture, when the setting in of the rains will cut off all communication by sea; but, as some jealousies begin to rise amongst the malcontents, and they make separate applications to your President, we hope it will come to a speedy conclusion.

1751 *Surat, 19th May, 1751 (1750-51, S. F. 8, II)*
Letter from Bombay.

Information asked for

In your letter of the 1st instant you tell us that, if the Governor's proposal is accepted of, he will give the Hon'ble Company the revenues of the Castle, the sum paid by the Governor of the town, and the Sidi's tankha. How the accepting his proposal can put us in possession of these revenues is the question we want to have cleared up to us. The former appears by your advices to be in the power of the Ganims to grant, the second perhaps may be recovered while the Governor of the Darbar is kept under military discipline, but how the latter is to be come at, without the Sidi's consent, is what we cannot find out; for we are quite

unacquainted that his tankha was ever annexed to the revenues of the Governor of the Castle. We therefore desire to have these particulars more clearly explained to us.

Surat, 21st May, 1751 (1850-51, S. F. 8, II). 1751
Letter from Bombay.

This you will receive by Captain James Sterling, under whose command we send Lieut. Levick, a hundred military (mostly Europeans) and a hundred sepoys; which, we hope, will be sufficient for the protection of the Hon'ble Company's Factory and effects. *Troops sent*

Surat, 22nd May, 1751 (1750-51, S. F. 8, II) 1751
Surat to Bombay.

. . . Achind's proposals made on condition of fixing him in the Government of the Darbar, by which, as he and the Sidi were at that time contending for it, Achind meant that we should join him publicly in turning the Sidi out, when it would be in his power to pay the tankha ; and it is not likely that he will ever dispute his engagements while the Hon'ble Company are in possession of the Castle, which will always be a sufficient awe upon the Governor of the town. *Achind's proposals*

The Ganims have for some time received a quarter part of the revenues of the town, and while we are willing to let it be continued to them, they will hardly dispute our receiving the revenues of those villages annexed to the Castle.

There is great reason to believe that there never will be a lasting peace until one party is in entire possession of both town and Castle, and the other drove out; and it appears to us dangerous to trust that party which has already been turned out by the Hon'ble Company's forces[1], considering the unforgiving temper of the Moors. Continual troubles in the town must in the end prove more expensive to the Hon'ble Company, by the necessity there will be of having a force here for the security of their Factory and effects, than joining Achind at this time in turning the Sidi out, besides that the Hon'ble Company is to reap the above-mentioned advantages for joining Achind now ; and if Safdar Khan becomes entire master of town and Castle, the Dutch, who have acted openly for him all along, are likely to have great influence with him to the Hon'ble Company's prejudice. *Supporting Achind*

The Sidi's party from their batteries continue to attack the Castle, but with no success. *Failure*

Since the news of Damaji's being taken prisoner by Nana's forces, Khanderao, a considerable officer of the former, and Appaji Gopal, the commanding person at Bilimora, it's said, have designs of coming hither in order to take the protection of Sidi Masud. *Damaji prisoner*

Agreeable to our advices of the 3rd instant, we have enlisted four hundred country sepoys, completely armed with matchlocks, swords and targets, who are esteemed as good as any in these parts. *Enlisting soldiers*

Surat, 29th May, 1751 (1750-51, S. F. 8, II). 1751
Letter from Bombay.

This we despatch by pattemar to advise you that the Chief's letter to the Hon'ble the President, relating to our taking possession of the *Conditional powers*

1 See letter of the 30th December, 1748, to the Court of Directors.

Castle, provided Achind can no longer maintain it, has been laid before the Board; and which having been duly weighed and considered, we are of opinion that such a step requires the greatest caution and conduct, and ought not on any consideration be entered into by us, so long as it can possibly be avoided; but, if Achind should be so hard pressed as not to be able to hold out any longer against the enemy, we permit you to take possession of the Castle in the Mogul's name, and then only at Achind's particular request and upon his entering into a written obligation to defray all expenses. You must also have the concurrence of the whole body of merchants by a writing under their seals. Although we have given you the above latitude, you are not to be too sanguine or hasty in putting it into execution, but wait until matters are carried to the very last extremity, when, it becoming unavoidable for us to remain neuter, we judge it more for the Hon'ble Company's interest and honour for you to take possession of it, until we hear from Court, than to let it fall into the hands of Sidi Masud, from whose behaviour since the commencement of the war we have great reason to apprehend that, should he get into quiet possession of the government, we shall not be able to carry on our trade in that free and reputable manner, as is consistent with the Hon'ble Company's honour and their firman and privileges. Secrecy, above all things, is absolutely necessary, and which we recommend to you; for, should it come to the knowledge of the Sidi, the Hon'ble Company's effects and your own lives may be endangered; and as you are on the spot, we leave it to you to act as may be most conducive to the Hon'ble Company's interest, and as circumstances may require; but, as above, strictly enjoin you not to engage in the troubles, until matters are carried to the very last extremity, and Achind can hold out no longer. We would not have you enter into any engagement for fixing him in the Darbar, as we judge the forces you have with you not sufficient to effect it; for by dividing them into small parties, they run a risk of being cut off. You must also be careful of Sidi Masud, as the Hon'ble the President has lately intercepted a letter from his agent here, wherein he advises the Sidi to cut off the detachment lately sent to Surat in their passage up the river.

1751 *Surat, 3rd June, 1751 (1750-51, S. F. S, II)*
Surat to Bombay.

Soldier assaulted

Yesterday morning about 7 o'clock one of our Portuguese soldiers coming from church was attacked and wounded by an Arab belonging to the Sidi, from whom he immediately snatched his scimitar and wounded him in two places. We immediately sent to the Sidi to complain of this insult, who, instead of giving us any redress, sent for answer that his people were very ungovernable. Soon after we were informed that they were assembled together in a tumultuous manner, threatening to attack the Factory, and on our Bombay sepoys making ready before our Mourchers [?], the Sidi's people fired on them, as they did on Captain Sterling, who marched thereupon with a guard of 60 men to view round our quarters; on which a battle ensued, and all Safdar Khan's party joined to attack the Factory, which they continued to do from adjacent houses till 10 at night, when the Sidi desired a cessation of arms for 24 hours, which was agreed on. We had nine soldiers, three Bombay

Factory attacked

sepoys and twelve Surat, killed, and forty wounded, Captain Sterling wounded in the foot with an arrow, and Lieut. Levick in the shoulder with a musket-ball, Mr. Pym has received a shot through the calf of his leg, and Mr. Delagarde one through his thigh. Their keeping in the houses rendered it impossible for us to do them any significant mischief, as we are to leeward of the Sidi and therefore could not conveniently dispossess them by fire. We shall do our utmost for the good security of our Hon'ble Masters' affairs here ; and as to what loss the Hon'ble Company may sustain in stock, Your Honour, etc. have sufficient in Bombay now on the Jiddah and Mocha ships belonging to Sidi Masud, Sidi Mufta, etc. of that faction to make them ample satisfaction.

Upon our signal being made, Captain Sanders fired ten of the Sidi's gallivats and entirely destroyed them.

Surat, 6th June 1751 (1750-51, S. F. 8, II) 1751
Letter from Bombay.

Bombay warning

We cannot help saying that your enlisting so large a number of the country soldiers is very extraordinary, and we think unnecessary, as it is putting the Hon'ble Company to a large expense for people whose fidelity, in case of your being attacked, cannot be depended upon, as in all probability they would be influenced or intimidated by the opposite party's seizing their families.

Surat, 10th June, 1751 (1750-51, S. F. 8, II) 1751
At a Consultation.

Treaty

This night a treaty was concluded between us and Begler Khan, otherwise Wiqar Khan, and Hafiz Masud Khan as follows:

Begler Khan, [*Wiqar Khan*] and Hafiz Masud Khan on the King's side having had a skirmish with Mr. Lambe. Mr. Boucard used his good offices as mediator between them, and it is hereby agreed that Mr. Lambe shall not in any manner assist Moyeen-ud-din Khan or send people to the Castle.

Mr. Lambe is in possession of the key of Mulna's gate, which we have demanded of him; when it was agreed that four of our people should sit down at the gate, and one belonging to Mr. Boucard, and that the Governor of Bombay shall be wrote to for his orders, if the key must be given up. If an answer thereto does not come soon, all who sign here to oblige themselves to send a pattemar and write a second time. To this the Dutch and French Chiefs sign as witnesses.

Surat, 11th June, 1751 (1750-51, S. F. 8, II) 1751
Surat to Bombay.

Excuses

The reason for our signing this treaty, which binds us up so much, was that our officers declared to us we could not hold out against the enemy for above two more attacks, and because they earnestly entreated us to make peace on any terms, except that of giving up the key of the gate, which would entirely cut off our retreat, if necessary.

Mulna gate

Though it was not expressly mentioned in the treaty that we shall give up the key, yet we are well assured, if we do not, that it will in the end occasion a fresh rupture with the Sidi; if we give up the key, our

retreat and all communication with our vessels is then cut off; and if we are afterwards attacked and have the worst of the engagement, we shall be without resource...

Chief's surprise It appears to us very strange that our officers should think it necessary for us to have 5,000 additional forces to act offensively against the Sidi, whose whole force cannot exceed 6 or 7,000 men, especially as they all frequently declared before the engagement that 100 men would be sufficient to bring the Sidi out of his quarters, and from the Sidi's own confession to Monsr. Boucard, as well as [*to*] Aga Razak, the Persian agent, his declaration, who was actually present with him during the engagement, he was under the greatest apprehensions while our military advanced upon him; and had Captain Sterling not retreated in great disorder to his quarters, before he had lost a man (for the two he lost were in the retreat), we have great reason to believe we should have got the better; for the enemy did not enter the houses round the Factory till after Captain Sterling's retreat.

1751 *Surat, 11th June, 1751 (1750-51, S. F. 8, II)*

Boycott This day the Sidi caused a drum to be beat about town, publicly forbidding peons or servants of any kind to enter our service, and at the same time put the butchers, etc. under obligations in writing not to supply us with meat or provisions of any sort.

1751 *Surat, 14th June, 1751 (1750-51, S. F. 8, II)*

An explanation The Sidi sent to the Chief by the hands of Monsr. Boucard the above mentioned writings for the butchers, etc. denying their having been given by his order, but said it was done by Wolalah's (one of his dependants) without his knowledge, as he himself had only ordered peons entering into our service.

1751 *Surat, 26th June, 1751 (1750-51, S. F. 8, II)*
Surat to Bombay.

Achind's request Last night by a letter from the Castle we are informed that the garrison is in the greatest want of dal, ghee and other necessaries; and Achind requests we will find means to supply him therewith; which being contrary to our agreement with the Sidi, we have declined; but fear, if Achind cannot find means to supply himself with these articles, he will soon be obliged to give up the Castle to the Sidi; which will be of the utmost bad consequence, as, in case he should get possession of the Castle and again attack the Factory and worst us, we shall have no resource left; nor shall we have any means left of recovering the large extraordinary charges which have been incurred by these troubles. We therefore request Your Honour, &ca's immediate directions how to act. Should we go into the Castle, the Company's effects here are certainly lost; and should the enemy get possession, both we and they are entirely at their mercy.

Sidi's accusations The 24th the Sidi sent word to the Chief that a boat from our vessels with dal, ghee and other necessaries went the night before to the Castle; which though we gave him the strongest assurances to the contrary, he yesterday morning sent for Mr. Boucard and told him that he

was thoroughly convinced that we had, notwithstanding all we had said. He also told the said gentleman that he was informed the Hon'ble President had through Mulna's means wrote to Nana to send his forces to Surat to act in concert with us to turn him out; and that in consequence thereof Nana was sending 20,000 men hither; and thereupon observed that he was sensible he could not stay here in such a case, but that he should never want bread; for that he could go to Jafarabad and act like the Sultanpur Kolis.

Surat, 3rd July, 1751 (1750-51, S. F. 8, II) 1751
Surat to Bombay.

Sidi's designs

Two of the principal merchants acquainted us that Sidi Masud declared to them that he was in hourly expectation of becoming master of the Castle, and told them that he had, therefore, lately withdrawn all the people belonging to Ali Nawaz Khan and the rest of Safdar Khan's party from the batteries round the Castle, and placed those that are immediately in his service in their room; which has occasioned that party to be very much dissatisfied; these as well as many other circumstances make it generally believed that he not only designs to make himself governor of the Castle but of the town also.

Surat, 7th July, 1751 (1750-51, S. F. 8, II) 1751
Letter from Bombay to Surat.

Bombay remonstrates

We advise you at all events not to deliver up the key of the water-gate, as it will entirely cut off all communication with your vessels, and likewise as it concurs in opinion with your officers, with whom we are concerned to observe you should have any difference, more especially at this critical juncture, when unanimity is so highly necessary and incumbant for your mutual safety. With regard to sending you any recruits or stores, as you desire, you will know it is impracticable for us to effect it at this season of the year; and indeed we think the force you have fully sufficient to defend the Factory. Therefore [*we*] cannot approve of your enlisting any more sepoys.

Bombay, 11th July, 1751 (1751, P. D. 24B) 1751
At a Consultation.

English a[t] Surat

The Gentlemen at Surat have never yet given us the least hint, how the Hon'ble Company are to be reimbursed the monstrous expense they are to have been at on account of the troubles. We do not doubt the truth of which they affirm of their not having supplied Achind with provisions, although Sidi Masud's jealousy might cause him to suspect it. It can be no secret to him that after Nana had taken Damaji, etc. prisoners, he issued orders to part of his army to subdue the province of Gujarat; so there could be no occasion for the President to write to him to join his forces to ours; and he now declares to the Board he did not; nor was ever the Mulna employed in such an affair by him. In regard to Sidi Masud's inclinations for piracy, we do not doubt of it; but we cannot conceive that he will choose to make war upon the English unprovoked, as we shall shortly be able to act on the sea as we think proper.[1]

1 This extract must be read jointly with the letter from Surat, dated the 25th June, 1751.

1751 *Bombay, 17th July, 1751* (*1751, P. D. 24B*)
At a Consultation.

The English and the Peshwa The President acquaints the Board that he has received repeated messages from Ramaji Pant, acquainting him that Nana had given orders to his army to march and subdue the province of Gujarat, and that he was also determined to settle the tranquillity of Surat, but would not place any person in the government without our approbation. The Board are, therefore, of opinion that the President write a complaisant letter to Nana and acquaint him that we think the most proper persons to be fixed in the government of Surat are such as may be appointed by the Mogul.

1751 *Surat, 23rd July, 1751* (*1750-51, S. F. 8, II*)
Letter from Bombay.

Bombay orders We approve of the writing[1] you have given Begler Khan [*Wiqar Khan*] and Sidi Masud not to assist Moyeen-ud-din Khan, it being comformable to our repeated orders to you to observe a strict neutrality and not make yourselves a party unnecessarily. Indeed we sincerely wish you could by any means contribute towards the settling of the tranquillity of the town by using your good offices between the contending parties. We do not apprehend any great inconvenience can arise from Sidi Masud's having four people at the water-gate, if he does not insist on more, but agreeable to what we have already wrote you, you are not to deliver up the key.

1751 *Surat, 23rd July, 1751* (*1750-51, S. F. 8, II*)
Surat to Bombay.

Treachery There seems to be no probability of Achind and the Sidi coming to an accommodation, as the Sidi insists on the Castle being delivered up to him; and yesterday a conspiracy was brought to light in that place, three Habshi officers in Achind's service having agreed to deliver up the largest battery (called the King's battery) to the Sidi's people and to assassinate Achind; in attempting the latter, one of them was killed, and the other two made prisoners.

1751 *Surat, 24th July, 1751* (*1750-51, S. F. 8, II*)
Letter from Bombay.

Bombay anxious You wrote of going into the Castle as a thing you make no difficulty in, but as yet have not informed us how you are to get possession of it. The only conditions we have heard were that you were to put Achind in possession of the Darbar, which we are morally certain you cannot do; and [*how*] you are to be supplied with provisions, if you were possessed of the Castle, is not at all clear to us; and for this doubtful chance of getting possession of the Castle your are to sacrifice all the Hon'ble Company's property in Surat, which we cannot think at all equivalent; nor have you hitherto given us the least hint how the Hon'ble Company were to be reimbursed the monstrous expense they are, and have been at on account of these troubles. If Achind was in the distress you represent him when your letter was wrote, any orders from us can be of no consequence, as he must have surrendered before now.

1 See extract dated Surat, 10th June, 1751.

Surat, 30th July, 1751 (1750-51, S. F. 8, II) 1751
Surat to Bombay.

The Sidi has hitherto always declared that he designed the government of the town for Safdar Khan, but from what has happened of late it appears that he designs, if he takes the Castle, to keep both that and the town himself. *Sidi's designs*

The Sidi of late treats all the head officers with very little respect, particularly Muhammad Wiqar Khan, to whom he used to go in the beginning of the troubles when he sent to desire to see him ; but lately he has civilly refused three or four times going to Muhammad Wiqar Khan upon his being sent for, saying he would come when he was more at leisure.

The extremity which Achind is in has made him for some time desirous of receiving the Hon'ble Company's forces into the Castle on any terms as the securest way he has of saving his life at present, and in hopes that Your Honour, etc. might be induced to do something for him in future ; but, as he sees he is not to expect any assistance from the English, he is making an agreement with Nana; and it is thought, if he is able to hold out against the Sidi's forces till Nana's forces come this way, that he will deliver up the Castle to them. The Sidi, suspecting some treaty was carrying on between Achind and Nana, has lately taken up Nana's agent and sent him to Damaji's people at Navsari. *Achind and Marathas*

As the Sidi's behaviour all along made us judge that he would sooner or later attack us, we thought it necessary to provide against the worst that might happen by lodging two months' provisions for all our people on board the vessels, which we proposed carrying into the Castle if we had been forced to take refuge there, and which we were only able to get down on pretence that we designed to remove to our garden to prevent any accidental quarrels between our men and the Sidi. *Preparations*

As to the Hon'ble Company being reimbursed the very heavy expense they have been at to defend their Factory during these troubles, unless Achind is reinstated, we can see no way to recover it. *Expenses*

It being likely that the Castle will soon fall into the Sidi's hands, in which case the government of the town will be fixed either in the Sidi or Safdar Khan, we beg Your Honour, &ca's directions how we are to act ; whether, provided they assure us the Hon'ble Company's firman and privileges shall be preserved, we are immediately to deliver up the key of the gate, dismiss the mercenaries and remove our batteries, as we shall then have no pretence for keeping them. *Instructions asked*

The Sidi always declares that he will attack the Factory as soon as ever he has certain advice that Your Honour &ca's design [*is*] to send a force up hither ; and we are well assured that he has constant and quick advices from Bombay at this time, though we can't find out from whom. *Factory in danger*

Bombay, 13th August, 1751 (1751, P. D. 24B) 1751
Letter from Surat.

Came to hand a letter from the Chief and Factors at Surat, dated the 31st ultimo, advising of their having wrote us the day after, and that Monsr. Boucard had that morning waited on the Chief with a message from the Sidi, informing him that, if they would take down their batteries and discharge their Surat mercenaries, the Sidi would visit *Sidi's proposal*

him and endeavour to make peace in the town; but that he would never come to the Factory till they did so. That, as the Sidi had never yet given them any reason to believe that he had any desire to be at friendship with the English, they desired Mr. Boucard to tell him that they could not do as he wanted them without orders from us; that, if they could not comply with the Sidi's demand, Mr. Boucard was directed by him to desire them to write to us about it. That Monsr. Boucard had promised the Sidi that he would write to the Hon'ble the President on the same head. That the Sidi did not insist on the key of the gate as before.

1751 *Bombay, 13th August, 1751 (1751, P. D. 24B)*
At a Consultation.

Sidi's proposal rejected

Taking the Surat advices into consideration, Sidi Masud's proposals to the Gentlemen there for dismantling their batteries and discharging their Surat mercenaries, that he might visit them in order to settle the unhappy disturbances of the city, appears to us so very extraordinary that we cannot with honour or prudence come into it, as it will be putting the Hon'ble Company's property and the lives of the Gentlemen too much in the power of a man, whose word in such case cannot be relied on with any degree of confidence. If he is really desirous of seeing the Chief, he may always have a meeting with him at some indifferent place without going to the Factory; and of these our sentiments the Chief and Factors are to be advised, that they may acquaint Monsr. Boucard accordingly.

We are greatly surprised at their writing us that Sidi Masud has not insisted any further on the key of the gate, whereas both he and Monsr. Boucard mention it as one of the former demands.

1751 *Bombay, 22nd August, 1751 (1751, P. D. 24B)*
Letter from Surat.

Damaji and the Peshwa

Came to hand advices from the Chief and Factors at Surat dated the 30th ultimo and 10th instant. That the agent of Damaji's officer Khanderao, who was in friendship with the Sidi, said that Damaji had settled with Nana[1] and would be that way shortly; but they doubted the truth of it, as they judged the Sidi's taking so very sudden a resolution of visiting the Chief proceeded from his fear of Nana's forces coming that way soon, and that, therefore, he was willing to accommodate matters in town before they could arrive, to be the better able to oppose them.

---

1 These rumours that the Peshwa and Damaji had come to terms were premature. Mr. G. S. Sardesai kindly supplied the following chronological data, based on Maratha sources. On the 11th May, 1751, Damaji was removed to Poona where he was confined in a private house. On the 14th November, 1751, Damaji was transferred from Poona to Logarh. In 1752 Damaji complied with the Peshwa's demands. The deed of division is dated the 30th March, 1752; but an agreement was arrived at before for it would seem that on the 25th February, 1752, Damaji was sent into Gujarat, so that he was set free a few days prior to the 25th February 1752.

The release of Damaji is mentioned in an extract of the Surat Diary, dated 21st February, 1752, and published in this compilation.

Bombay, 30th August, 1751 (1751, P. D. 24B) 1751
Letter from Surat, dated 3rd August, 1751.

...That yesterday morning Sidi Masud came to the Factory. That the visit passed in nothing but gentlemanly compliments of friendship between them; and contrary to their expectations [*he*] made no mention of peace with the Achind or of the government of the town. *Sidi's visit*

Bombay, 6th September, 1751 (1751, P. D. 24B) 1751
At a Consultation.

The President then proposes to the Board sending up some of the members to Surat to act in concert with Mr. Lambe in settling the present disturbance of the city; which is not assented to, as it is judged it will lessen the Chief's power and authority among the Country People in future. *Committee vetoed*

Upon maturely weighing and considering the present unhappy situation of affairs at Surat and the little probability there is of their being terminated, which occasions a general decay of trade and must in consequence greatly affect the Hon'ble Company's sales; and as Sidi Masud's pretensions to the government are founded on no other authority than his ambition; and considering the great indignity put on us by the attack which, the Gentlemen say, he made on the Factory without any just or real provocation; we may, therefore, reasonably conclude that, should he ever get into the quiet possession of the government of Surat, we shall not be able to carry on our Hon'ble Masters' business in a free and reputable manner, besides the loss which must follow of the large sum incurred on this unhappy occasion, the only expedient for recovering of which, we are sensible, is our taking possession of the Castle, in order to effect which, it is agreed to send what force we can spare with proper officers, ammunition, etc. *Castle to be captured*

In consequence of the late cessation we hope Miah Achind is still in possession of the Castle and will not make any scruple of receiving the Hon'ble Company's forces; but, should he refuse, or Sidi Masud have taken it, the Chief and Factors must compel him to deliver it up; the manner of carrying which into execution we must leave to their prudence and discretion, as they are on the spot and of course the best judges how to act as circumstances may require. We do not propose herefrom to deprive Achind of the Castle; our intention is that he still continue Governor; but, as Mir Ali Khan is very strenuously recommended hither from Court, the Gentlemen are, therefore, if he is willing and capable of rendering them assistance and giving security for the expense incurred, to fix him in the Darbar; but if he declines it, they are then to join with Neck Alam Khan, the Governor of Broach, he having wrote to the President of his design to march with a body of men to Surat, agreeable to the orders he has received from Court for taking the city, and has likewise promised to defray all our expenses in case of joining him

If Sidi Masud will be satisfied to remain quiet in the situation he was in before the troubles began, we have no reason to dispute it; but the Gentlemen are no account to give him any assurance of protection from us on any occasion hereafter, as it is not improbable but he may make some such proposals in regard to the Marathas or the Governor of the town, who may have reason to be jealous of his power and ambition.

Upon the whole the Gentlemen are not to deliver up the Castle, if once possessed of it, till the Hon'ble Company are reimbursed all their expenses, the grants and privileges confirmed to them, and the city of Surat settled in perfect tranquillity.

1751 *Bombay, 18th September, 1751* (*1751, P. D., 24B*)
Extract from Diary.

Ships sent Sailed the Prince George, Shaftsbury, Eastcourt and Bombay Grab for Surat, the weather having been very foul for these three days past, preventing their going sooner.

1175 *Bombay, 20th September, 1751* (*1751, P. D. 24B*)
Surat to Bombay, dated the 10th.

End of truce The Sidi sent a messenger to the Chief to acquaint him that the cessation was to expire that day, and no progress had been made towards a peace, and was determined to attack the Castle.

Achind in distress That two days past Achind sent word to the Chief that he could not hold out for want of provisions and in case he should again be pressed; and that, therefore, on his being again attacked he must be obliged first to request of them to take possession of the Castle ; which if they refused, he would, rather than deliver it up to the Sidi, give it up to some others, by which they have reason to believe he means the Dutch, as their people had frequently been with him of late.

1751 *Bombay, 20th September, 1751* (*1751, P. D. 24B*)
Letter from Surat, dated 17th September.

Achind in distress That their endeavours have not been wanting towards bringing about a peace between the two contending parties in town, but had hitherto met with no other success than procuring a cessation of arms for 20 days; which being expired, it was hourly expected hostilities would commence again; by Achind's situation, of which we had been from time to time duly informed, it was easy to judge what must be the consequence.

Safdar's return That the Governor of Broach wrote the Chief that he had intercepted two letters from Safdar Khan, dated at Cutch, one to Muncher and the other to the Dutch Chief, wherein he says that he was to embark on board a Dutch Grab that day for that place.

1751 *Bombay, 20th September, 1751* (*1751, P. D. 24B*)
At a Consultation.

Safdar to be arrested The President acquaints the Board that since our last meeting he has received intelligence of Safdar Khan's being to embark for Surat on a Dutch vessel coming from Sind; that he had, therefore, wrote to Commodore Jodrel; and in case of his meeting the said vessel, on no account to insult the Dutch colours, but to lodge boats in such a manner as might secure him when going into the river. That he has also wrote to Mr. Lambe to use all the means in his power to seize and send him hither on the Bombay Grab; which is approved, and a letter ordered to be wrote the Chief and Factors accordingly.

Bombay, 1st October, 1751 (1751, P. D. 24B)
Letter from Surat.

That Safdar Khan arrived there that day on a Dutch Grab from Sind and landed at the Dutch gardens at Athwa, whence he immediately proceeded for Salabatpura gardens, where, it was said, he intended to reside for the present. *Safdar at Surat*

Bombay, 5th October, 1751 (1751, S. F. 24B) 1751
Letter from Surat.

That as soon as they had received advices of the reinforcements coming up, they provided everything in the best manner they could for their reception; but the Sidi prevented their getting boats enough for bringing them up, which occasioned the officers in a consultation on board to send up the Bombay Grab with them; the delay occasioned by their being sent up in so large a vessel gave the Sidi time to raise a battery at Umra and send forces down there, and obliged them to negotiate a disadvantageous treaty, which was almost concluded when the Sidi's people went and attacked ours a little below Umra where they landed to dress their victuals. This attack obliged them to advance against the Umra battery, which they took; that all their men were landed at the Castle, which reinforcement, they hoped, would be sufficient to cope with the Sidi. That they were constantly in expectation of coming to an engagement and had used their utmost endeavours to bring the Sidi to reason, but in vain. That they should not land any money or merchandize, till the town was settled in tranquillity. *Castle occupied*

Bombay, 16th October, 1751 (1751, P. D. 24B) 1751
Letter from Surat, dated 15th October, 1751.

They had concluded a treaty between Safdar Khan and Sidi Masud, wherein they agreed to evacuate the Castle and withdraw all their forces immediately. *Castle evacuated*

Bombay, 18th October, 1751 (1751, P. D. 24B) 1751
At a Consultation.

The President then lays before the Board a copy of the treaty which the Chief and Factors have entered into with Safdar Khan and Sidi Masud, which he has received from a private hand. The articles whereof are unanimously disapproved by the Board, more especially that for their evacuating Surat Castle, as keeping possession thereof was the chief security for recovering the expense incurred on this occasion, and our orders to the Chief and Factors being peremptory not to deliver it up. *Treaty repudiated*

Agreed that the President write to Safdar Khan and Sidi Masud, letting them know that, notwithstanding the Chief and Factors have entered into a treaty with them, yet we shall never submit to any such ignominious and dishonourable terms, as we always have it in our power to take ample satisfaction from the Government of Surat.

That the President also write to Miah Achind, acquainting him that it was never our intentions to desert him, as we found the Chief and Factors had done by the treaty they have entered into with Safdar Khan and Sidi Masud, but that we shall still continue to befriend him.

1751 *Bombay, 18th October, 1751 (1751, P. D. 24B)*
Bombay to Surat.

Castle to be held We acquaint them that we had ordered Captain Lane, if he had not withdrawn himself and his forces from the Castle, to continue there; but if he had, [*and*] Achind [*was*] still in possession thereof, to return to it again with all the force he could collect; but, if the Sidi had taken it, to remain on board the vessels till further orders.

1751 *Bombay, 22nd October, 1751 (1751, P. D. 24B)*
Letter from William Lane.[1]

Castle evacuated The former acknowledges receipt of ours as also from the President's, directing him not to evacuate the Castle. That he had acquainted His Honour under the 14th instant of the peace that was concluded; but that the conditions, he was afraid, were not so advantageous to the Company as might be wished. That the same day he received orders to embark all his men and ammunition in the Castle with all expedition, and that the Dutch would assist him with lascars and boats to carry the same on board the Grab, etc., which he had executed before the President's or our orders came to hand; but on receipt thereof, dispatched a letter to Mr. Lambe and Council and acquainted them of the orders he had received not to quit the Castle. They replied with an order, a second after it, to get embarked as soon as possible; that the Company's affairs and effects depended upon him going as well as their lives. That he had embarked his people on board the vessels lying at Athwa, waiting for the springs to get to the Bar. That the Sidi had 17 thousand men and was building batteries down the river to stop all vessels. That the Grab had received some damage as well as the rest of the vessels. What further orders he should received at the Bar, where he was ordered to wait, he could not tell. That he was just ordered to send Ensign Pillans to the Factory with a detachment of 40 men; that the rest of the people were embarked from the Factory and would proceed for the Bar the first springs. That last night he had received the President's letter and one to the Nawab, which he delivered at the Castle. That he was informed Mr. Lambe had given the Sidi a note of hand for two lakhs of Rupees.

1751 *Bombay, 22nd October, 1751 (1751, P. D. 24B)*
Letter from William Dick[2].

Castle evacuated Captain Dick in his letter of the 19th advises the receipt of ours of the 13th, and that peace was concluded the 15th, and our forces ordered to be withdrawn from the Castle. He did not doubt but the Chief and Factors had acquainted us with all their proceedings, as then all was private with them, having no communication with the Factory but by means of our friends, the Dutch. However Mr. Lambe wrote that the gates would that day or the next be opened and a free communication with the Factory [*established*]. That the 17th he received Captain Lane with his people, etc. on board the vessels, when he received orders to proceed to the Bar.

1 William Lane, Captain, with the troops at Surat.

2 William Dick, Captain, with the troops at Surat.

Bombay, 23rd October, 1751 (1751, P. D. 24B) 1751
At a Consultation.

Lane recalled Captain William Lane, having evacuated Surat Castle, contrary to the positive orders sent him by the President, which he has acknowledged the receipt of, is therefore to be ordered down hither; and Captain Thomas Andrews sent up in his stead.

Bombay, 29th October, 1751 (1751, P. D. 24B) 1751
Letter from Philip Jodrel.[1]

Diplomatic advice That, as Captain Lane and the rest of the military officers judged that they had not force sufficient for to throw themselves into the Castle, it would be most prudent not to break the treaty now subsisting, until such time as Captain Lane had received a proper reinforcement from Bombay, so that he might with safety get the military and stores under his command into the Castle: and that, as soon as he had got possession of it, then immediately to stop the river.

Achind's distress That Miah Achind was still in possession of the Castle, but [*it*] was reported it would soon be delivered up through the treachery of his officers. He further advises that the Sidi continued to fortify the banks of the river and our gardens, and that the Dutch had 15 guns mounted at their bunder, so that they were still suspicious of their returning.

Bombay, 30th October, 1751 (1751, P. D. 24B) 1751

Treaty with Safdar and Sidi Imported the Hector from Surat with a letter from the Chief and Factors there of the 25th, advising of having entered into a treaty with Safdar Khan and the Sidi through the mediation of the French, the Dutch and two Padres.

Bombay, 10th November, 1751 (1749-54, P. D. Let. to Court of Dir. 2) 1751
Bombay to the Court of Directors.

Summary of events In our address of the 24th August enclosed, Your Honours will observe that your servants at Surat were apprehensive of Sidi Masud's attacking the Factory; and they frequently repeating these advices to us, and there being no prospect of the troubles being decided without our interposing, we came to a resolution of sending up a considerable reinforcement with orders to your servants to take possession of the Castle, (as we know that was the chief security for recovering to Your Honours the heavy expense incurred on this occasion) and not to deliver it up, until the charges were fully reimbursed, Your Honours' grants and privileges confirmed, and the city of Surat settled in perfect tranquillity. Miah Achind, the Governor of the Castle, received our forces with open arms; but your servants keeping most of the people in the Factory, and 400 Surat mercenaries in Your Honours' pay revolting, gave the Sidi an opportunity of surrounding the Factory in such a manner as obliged your servants to come to a treaty, the articles of which are so scandalous, more especially that for evacuating the Castle, that we entirely disapproved and annulled the same, and directed your servants to relinquish the Factory. Messrs Delagarde and Scott are got safe hither; but Messrs Pym and Hunt in attempting to escape were seized by the Sidi's people and are now at the Dutch House, and Mr. Lambe

1 Philip Jodrel, Commodore of the English ships.

remains now in our Factory. Nevertheless, as Nana, the Maratha general, has sent an officer to treat with the President about the Surat government, and has promised to drive Sidi Masud out of the place and not put any person in possession thereof but what may be agreeable to us, we hope we be able to conclude everything in an honourable and advantageous manner, more especially to secure the tankha, which will enable us to maintain a stout fleet without any additional expense to Your Honours. Besides which, the Red Sea, with very rich cargos belonging to the Suratter, which we shall not permit to depart the port, until matters are adjusted. A particular detail of the whole will be transmitted [to] Your Honours by the Shaftsbury.

1751 *Bombay, 11th November, 1751 (1751, P. D. 24B)*
Treaty with the Peshwa.

Treaty with Peshwa

Ramaji Pant being come over to Karanja and having intimated his desire to the President that some person might be sent to him to confer on the subject of the Surat affairs and other matters, he accordingly dispatched Mr. William Andrew Price with the directions to treat on the following articles as agreed to by Gangadharpant.

1st Art. To assist in driving out of Surat Sidi Masud, his son and Safdar Khan; or if taken prisoners, to be delivered to us.

2nd Art. The tankha now enjoyed by the Sidi to be preserved to the English.

3rd Art. Miah Achind to remain killadar of the Castle.

4th Art. All our charges and expenses incurred to be made good to us by the Surat Government.

5th Art. The Dutch wall to be demolished by the Marathas.

8th Art. To have a settlement at Jambusar with the same privileges as at Cambay.

7th Art. We to build our factory at our garden in such manner as we judge proper for our trade.

8th Art. The Castle to be kept by us till everything is settled, and all the Hon'ble Company's privileges to be preserved in full force.

9th Art. That Nana shall enjoy one quarter of the revenue of Surat as offered by Achind.

10th Art. If any disputes happen between Nana's people and the Moors' Governor, the English to be umpires.

Articles agreed to by Richard Bourchier, Governor of Bombay, in behalf of Pandit Pradhan (the Nana) and by Gangadhar Viswanath, his agent.

1st Art. The said Pandit Pradhan shall enjoy one quarter part of the revenues of Surat city and the district thereof, for collecting which one of his officers shall assist there, with a few people, and a house to be allowed him to dwell in.

2nd Art. If any Maratha merchant shall come to Surat with Pandit Pradhan's licence, he is not to be molested.

3rd Art. Whatever goods are bought and sold at Surat for the use of his sarkar and Ramajipant, no customs to be collected; and all those merchants under his protection shall pay no more than half customs.

4th Art. Should it upon any urgent occasion be necessary to call any of the said Pandit Pradhan's armies for their assistance, their pay and other charges to be paid out of the whole amount and of the revenues.

5th Art. When the Surat Government is settled, the English shall join their forces with those of Pandit Pradhan and assist in reducing Jafarabad, where the English shall have a factory, when the Marathas are possessed of it.

Treaty between Mr. Lambe and Council and Safdar Khan and Sidi Masud. *Treaty with Safdar and Sidi*

1st. As soon as the peace is concluded, the English are to take all the soldiers from the Castle, that are in their service, as well Europeans as Indians, and send them on board the ships at the Bar, at the same time all the batteries belonging to Masud Khan are to be dismantled.

2nd. The soldiers in the treaty of whatever denomination are to be sent away, reserving only the same number as usual in times of tranquillity.

3rd. That all ships and goods now at Bombay are to have leave to go to their respective ports of Mocha, Jiddah, Bengal, or anywhere else that they may be bound to.

4th. After the peace is concluded, there is to be no more fighting either in the city or at the Bar.

5th. The Company are to pay yearly the same sum as agreeable to their firmans with the charges thereon.

6th. The English are not to protect or take into their factory any goods, but what belong immediately to them.

We, the underwritten Chief and Council for the Company of England at Surat, declare that we approve of the articles of this present treaty of peace from our full and entire will, and promise to conform to them, and execute them according to their tenor.

Signed by Mr. Lambe and Council

Witnessed by the Dutch Secretary.

Bombay, 26th November, 1751 (1751, P. D. 24B) 1751

At a Consultation.

Having come to an agreement with Ramajipant in behalf of Nana for his joining us with a body of men in attacking Surat, but Nana being at present obliged to draw the greatest part of his forces to his frontiers to defend them from the Moguls, we cannot at this juncture expect his assistance; it is, therefore, agreed that the President write to Neck Alam Khan to know what forces he can send to Surat, etc. *Looking for help*

Articles of agreement settled between the Hon'ble Company and Neck Alam Khan by Coja Vertanus Nicolas, his vakil, and to be signed by him. *Treaty with Broach*

1st. The Hon'ble Company to assist in conjunction with your forces in driving out of Surat Sidi Masud, Safdar Khan and their sons; and either of them taken prisoners, to be delivered to the [*Government of*] Bombay.

2nd. [*The tankha*] now received by the Sidi to be preserved to the Hon'ble Company, [*who*] are to protect the port of Surat by the sea side.

3rd. Miah Achind [*to remain*] killadar of the Castle of Surat, and the said Neck Alam [*to be*] the Governor of the town.

4th. All the charges and [*expenses the*] Hon'ble Company has been at, and shall be hereafter on account these troubles, and in putting him into the said Government, to be made good by him, the said Neck Alam Khan.

5th. The Dutch are not to be permitted to build any wharf, and must now be demolished by you what work they have raised, and grant them no other privileges but what they have.

6th. The Hon'ble Company shall build a factory at their garden in such manner as they shall judge proper for their trade.

7th. The Castle to be kept by the Hon'ble Company, till everything is settled.

8th. All the Hon'ble Company's privileges to be preserved in full force.

BOMBAY, 16th November, 1751.

1751 *Bombay, 6th December, 1751 (1751, P. D. 24B)*
At a Consultation.

Committee The situation of affairs at Surat drawing to a crisis, the President deems it necessary that a Committee be appointed to proceed to Surat Bar with full powers from the Board for accommodating all the unhappy disturbances of the city in the manner most advantageous to the Hon'ble Company. The Board desire until Tuesday next to consider of it.

1751 *Bombay, 10th December, 1751 (1751, P. D. 24B)*
At a Consultation.

Committee The President then repeats to the Board the motion he made last Council day for a Committee's proceeding to Surat Bar, which they unanimously approved.

Reinforcements A detachment of 100 military, thirty-three people of the train, and 300 good sepoys with proper supply of ammunition and three months' provisions to go up with the Committee, likewise a considerable supply of woods agreeable to Captain Best's request.

1751 *Bombay, 16th December, 1751 (1749-54, P. D. Let. to Court of Dir. 2)*
Bombay to the Court of Directors.

Summary of events The Surat affairs would require much to be said about them, had they not filled our diary and consultations ever since the month of April last. But thus much it is absolutely necessary to inform Your Honours that we have done all in our power to prevent the troubles your servants there have been involved in. Whether Mr. Lambe observed so exact a neutrality as we directed, we cannot say; but it is certain there was not that care taken as was necessary to make Sidi Masud believe so; for in several letters he wrote to the President he always complained of Mr. Lambe's assisting Miah Achind with stores and provisions, which Mr. Lambe denies; and perhaps he did not; but he did not take proper care to convince Sidi Masud of it, who was always jealous that he did. A false step was taken when our forces were coming up. Instead of using his [*their*] best endeavours to conclude an honourable and advantageous peace, which we have great reason to believe they might have had, they got a large number of men into the Factory, where they were cooped

up and soon grew sickly; and both provisions and ammunition grew scarce; which first obliged them to weaken the forces we had in the Castle, who were forced to convey a quantity of ammunition to them and could not return, and then to make a scandalous peace by which they flung away all Your Honours' money that had been spent in these troubles and gave up the Castle, which was our only security for recovering it. Indeed we have suspended Captain Lane for evacuating the Castle, as he had the President's positive orders not to leave it on any account; and though we were obliged to suspend him for example's sake, till Your Honours' pleasure is known, thus much we must say in that Gentleman's behalf that we really believe his sole inducement was the safety of the Gentlemen in the Factory, who wrote him that they would indemnify him, and that his non-compliance would be the loss of their lives. This [*Lane's*] was as fatal an error as Mr. Lambe's trusting his sole retreat to the charge of the Surat mercenaries, being a body of men whom we had always been jealous of, and had not only disapproved of his entertaining of them, but had cautioned him not to put any confidence in them.

Bombay, 16th December, 1751 (1749-54, P. D. Let. to the Court of Dir. 2) 1751
Bombay to the Court of Directors.

Maratha claims

It is more than probable that the Marathas will, as soon as affairs in these parts are settled, insist on a quarter part of the revenues of Surat, as has been tendered them lately by Miah Achind; neither are the Moors in a capacity to dispute it, their power and authority daily declining in India; but we do not conceive that the Marathas would keep the government in their own hands, as they are a people of no mercantile turn and very sensibly experience the advantages accruing to them from its being in the Moors' possession.

Surat, December, 1751 (1751-52, S. F. 9) 1751
Attack on the Castle.

Progress of the fight

15-12-1751: This day the Government and Sidi's people began to raise two more batteries against the Castle, from whence they fired briskly on their works and, it is said, killed upwards of forty men belonging to the Sidi; but their batteries are now advanced so near that they can easily discourse from them with the people in the Castle.

20-12-1751: This day a hot fire between the Castle and batteries by which the Government and Sidi lost several men, but [*they*] are come very near the Castle and damage it considerably with the cannon from their batteries.

22-12-1851: Hot firing between the Castle and batteries raised against it.

23-12-1751: Hot firing between the Castle and batteries, as yesterday.

24-12-1751: The firing ceased between the Castle and batteries, and people from Safdar Khan and the Sidi went to the Castle, as is reported, to treat with Miah Achind.

26-12-1751: Sidi Sauban went to the Castle; no firing this day.

1751 *Surat, 30th December, 1751 (1751-52, S. F. 9)*
A Conference.

Beginning of the end In the morning Sidi Kuroola Omrapa and Meaboy went to the Sidi and had a long conference with him. On their departure he presented them with shawls, and sent presents of provisions, bread and fruit with them for Miah Achind, all which they refused. They then went to Ali Nawaz Khan and Safdar Khan, and at night returned again to the House of Shaikh Muhammad Fazil, being, as it is said, to meet again at the Sidi's to-morrow morning; the purport of this day's conference is not well known, but it is generally reported that it was on the subject of delivering up the Castle, which, it is thought, cannot hold out above three or four days.

1751 *Surat, 31st December, 1751 (1751-52, S. F. 9)*
A conference.

Last hope A conference held at the Sidi's house as yesterday, but Miah Achind's officers, hearing of the arrival of the Bombay Grab, raised their demands so much that it is said that they broke up without coming to any manner of agreement.

1752 *Surat, 1st January, 1752 (1751-52, S. F. 9)*
Surrender of the Castle.

Dismal New Year's Day In the morning the Factory was surrounded by a great number of the Sidi's and Government's people, who with great difficulty, at the desire of the French and Dutch Chiefs, permitted wood, water and provisions to pass to the Factory, demanding to know the reason of our vessels' arrival with reinforcements; to which, no advices being arrived, no answer could be given. At eleven, two of the Dutch Council came to the Factory with the compliments of the day as usual. At noon came advice that Miah Achind had delivered up the Castle to the Sidi, and that Sidi Sauban had entered it with three hundred men, on which [*we*] wrote a letter to Captain Best to advise him thereof, as follows:

James Henry Lambe to Thomas Best.[1]

Sad tidings This serves to advise you that the Castle is this morning delivered up to the Sidi; and on account of the arrival of our fleet the Factory is surrounded on all sides by the Government's and Sidi's people, and none suffered to pass in, or out of, our Factory, until the design of these vessels' coming be known. I am obliged for provisions and their passing to you to the mediation of the late treaty. Gods end a happy end to these affairs, but at present, there is a very unpleasant prospect which gives me great concern.

1751 *Surat, 8th September, 1787 (1787, S. & P. D. 36)*
John Griffith to Rawson Hart Boddam.
Origin of Surat chauth levied by Marathas.

Surat chauth Safdar Khan was deposed, and Miah Achind made Nawab, who paid the chauth to Damaji until 1751, when Safdar Khan was restored, who also regularly paid the chauth to the Gaikwad. One Madhavrao was the first chauthia appointed by Damaji Gaikwad.[2]

---

1 James Henry Lambe, Chief at Surat; Thomas Best, Captain with the troops.

2 For the other parts of this account see *Index, Griffith.*

Bombay, 20th February, 1752 (1751-54, P. D. Let. to Court of Dir. 2) 1752
Surat Committee.

Finding that all other efforts had proved ineffectual to bring those affairs to any conclusion, Your Honours will please to observe that on the 13th December the Board came to a resolution that a Committee of the Board should go up to the Bar, where they were to attempt throwing a detachment into the Castle, and then to try what might be done by the assistance of the Governor of Broach. *Summary of events*

Before the Committee reached the Bar, the Castle was fallen into Sidi Masud's hands, and the Governor of Broach could not raise forces sufficient to attack the town and Castle; which reduced our Gentlemen to the necessity of endeavouring to bring the enemy to treat of peace; and how they are like to succeed, we are not able to give Your Honours any account at present, it being a considerable time since we have had any advices from them.

Bombay, 30th March, 1752 (1751-54 P. D. Let. to Court of Dir. 2) 1752

The Committee having settled all affairs at Surat with honour and credit, the Sidi agreeing to pay two hundred thousand Rupees for all expenses and damages... *Settlement*

Ship Prince Henry, Surat Bar, January 1752 (1751-52, S. F. 9) 1752
Letter from William Shaw at Cambay.

Annandrao (Damaji's brother) is now near Jambusar with a considerable body of Ganims, with which he infests the whole country, robbing and plundering wherever anything is to be got, and has burned Amod, a town near Jambusar, and made all the considerable inhabitants prisoners. *Damaji's brother*

Ship Hector, Surat Bar, 21st February, 1752 (1751-52, S. F. 9) 1752

There is a report in town that the Marathas are marching an army towards Surat and have taken possession of a castle formerly belonging to Damaji. This and some other villages were agreed to be given to the former for the release of the latter [*Damaji*].[1] The Surat people are in great apprehensions from the Marathas' and the Ganims' approach, which we apprehend has been a great inducement to the Sidi's coming to treat with us, having for some time past been very cool. *Surat threatened*

Triumph Prahm[2], Surat, 25th February, 1752 (1751-52, S.F. 9) 1752
Raghunathrao's letter.

I participate with you in the news arrived here yesterday that a post with a letter came to Muhammad Wiqar Khan, son to Safdar Khan, from Raghunathrao, general of twenty thousand disciplined horse of Nana's, which he found near Navapur and Songarh. In this letter he [*Raghunathrao*] gives advices that all the countries in Gujarat, which were Damaji's, are now the Nana's, and desires he will send his vakil or attorney to meet him (Raghunathrao); which letter was answered yesterday after a consultation between Muhammad Wiqar Khan, Safdar *The Peshwa claims Surat*

1 See letter of the 22nd August 1751 and the note appended to it.

2 *Prahm* or *praam* a flat-bottomed boat.

Khan, Sidi Masud, Ali Nawaz Khan and some merchants. They answered that, when he came near Surat, they would send a person to meet him. At the same time the batteries and other places were ordered to be guarded and defended by the merchants and heads of the city.

The approach of the Nana's (or Marathas') army, provided it happened when first we arrived here, would have been of great service to us but in our present situation, when an advantageous peace can be obtained for the Hon'ble Company, and our forces so much wanted at Bombay, the lateness of the season also considered, we cannot think it prudent in us or for the Company's interest to wait for them and carry on a war.

1752 *Surat, 16th March, 1752 (1751-52, S. F. 9)*

Surat in danger

Came news that twenty five thousand men belonging to Bajirao were come to Pulparah.

1752 *Surat, 22nd March, 1752 (1751-52, S. F. 9)*

Surat in danger

The Ganims are about the town-walls and have wrote to Sidi Masud to send a person to treat with them, otherwise, they would begin to build batteries near the wall. Ordered the Defence and Dispatch to Gandevi to bring out the timber boats, and wait till joined by the Grab and other vessels for Bombay.

1752 *Bombay, 28th November, 1752 (1751-54, P. D. Let. to Court of Dir. 2)*
Bombay to the Court of Directors.

Achind's request

Miah Achind, the late Governor of Surat, and Sidi Masud, both requesting that the former might be permitted to come and reside on this island, who likewise earnestly entreating the President to admit his request on account the apprehensions he was under of ill treatment from Safdar Khan and the Sidi, who are both jealous of his power and interest in Surat, and as he upon all occasions showed the greatest readiness in the course of Your Honours' business, and we, having supported him in the late troubles, we could not in point of humanity evade gratifying him in his desire, and indeed we had a political view herein; for, should Your Honours' affairs in Surat meet with any obstruction from the Government, which we do not not apprehend from the present disposition of Sidi Masud, who has all the executive power, we judge we could make use of Miah Achind in such a manner as entirely to prevent any encroachment on Your Honour's firman and privileges.

1752 *Bombay, 31st December, 1752 (1751-54, P. D. Let. to Court of Dir. 2)*
Bombay to the Court of Directors.

Sidi's refusal

Miah Achind, the late Governor of Surat, and Sidi Masud, both requesting that the former might come and reside on the island, we consented thereto, as in case of any commotions in Surat we judged we could make use of him in such manner as to prevent any encroachments on Your Honours' firman and privileges. But the Sidi has altered his intention and is at present undetermined in regard to Achind, who, it seems, made his request at the Sidi's desire.

1 As regards Miah Achind's subsequent movements, see 30th April, 1753.

Bombay, 30th April, 1753 (1751-54, P. D. Let. to Court of Dir. 2) 1752
Bombay to the Court of Directors.

Miah Achind, the late Governor, and his family arrived here the 14th ultimo, Sidi Masud having resumed his first intention of sending him hither. *Achind in Bombay*

Surat, 29th March, 1752, (1751-52, S. F. 9) 1752
Letters to Maratha officers.

The Marathas continuing to infest and stop the roads round the town, which deters the merchants from entering into any considerable contract for cotton, as it is liable to be seized by the way from Broach, we this day wrote letters to Damaji, Shankarjipant and Raghunathrao, the three principal officers, requesting they would permit our goods to pass without molestation, agreeable to the friendship subsisting between us. *Investment delayed*

Surat, 1st April, 1752 (1751-52, S. F. 9) 1752
Letter from Maratha officers.

Received letters from the Maratha officers in answer to ours of the 29th ultimo enclosing a parwanah signed by Shankarjipant and Raghunathrao for the letting pass all the goods belonging to the English, unmolsted. *Parwanah*

Surat, 28th May, 1752 (1751-52, S. F. 9) 1752
Damaji's agent.

Madhavrao, the Ganim officer, who resided here in Surat before the troubles (but fled when they broke out), appointed by Damaji for receiving that part of the customs this Government annually pays the Ganims, this [day] he returned into town with the same authority from Damaji (who has compromised matters with the Marathas by allowing Nana half his yearly revenues), and was presented by the Sidi and Safdar Khan with seerpaos and turbans, a mark of great respect amongst these Country People. *Damaji's agent*

Surat, 8th September, 1787 (1787, S. P. D. 36) 1752
John Griffith to Rawson Hart Boddam.
Origin of Surat chauth levied by Marathas.

Soon after Safdar Khan was restored, Damaji Gaikwad was summoned by Nana to Poona to settle some accounts with the sarkar, when the Peshwa obliged him to agree to exchange certain parganas he possessed near Surat for some of inferior value held by the Poona sarkar, and Raghunathrao was sent from Poona to carry into effect this agreement. At this time Raghunathrao represented to the Nawab Safdar Khan the impropriety of Damaji Gaikwad, who was a dependant on the Poona Government, his receiving a chauth of the Surat revenues, whilst the Peshwa had no share, and insisted on the Nawab's granting him a chauth also; to which the Nawab objected and remonstrated strongly on the hardship of paying a chauth to both the Peshwa and Gaikwad, when it was at last settled between Raghunathrao, Damaji and the Nawab, Safdar Khan, that instead of a quarter, the Nawab should grant a third of the Surat revenues, to be divided equally between the Peshwa and *Surat revenue*

Gaikwad. This was settled in 1752, and one Narro Pandit was appointed chauthia, being the first on the part of the Peshwa.[1]

1752 *Bombay, 21st September, 1798 (1798, S. & P. D. 66)*
Duncan's Minute.

Revenue of Surat

7th. In the prosecution of the contest between Wiqar Khan and Miah Achind, the former is stated to have also applied for assistance to Damaji on a stipulation that he should enjoy half of the revenues of Surat; but, when the business was accomplished, and his father Safdar Khan returned from Tatta (whither he had proceeded on being in 1748 drawn out by Achind) objections were raised by the said Khan, who had by this time resumed the administration, to the payment of so large a proportion; and instead of half, it was settled to give Damaji only a third of the makta and other income; and in 1752 Damaji agreed among other concessions to cede to his superior, the Peshwa, one moiety of his chauth or rather third share of the Surat revenues.

1 For the other parts of this account see *Index, Griffith.*

No. 8. MARATHA AGGRESSIVENESS (1753-1758)

AFTER Damaji's surrender to Balaji Bajirao he returned to Gujarat, where he identified himself with the Peshwa's policy of territorial aggrandisement, which centered round Ahmadabad, Surat and Cambay. Though Damaji played an important part in this depredatory warfare, he was not the chief beneficiary thereof, hence the heading Maratha aggressiveness. The following subdivisions may be suggested:

(*a*) The capture of Ahmedabad,

(*b*) Maratha pretensions at Surat,

(*c*) The struggle at Cambay.

DOCUMENTS

Surat, 7th April, 1753 (1752-53, S. F. 10) 1753
Letter from Cambay, dated 4th April, 1753.

The above is duplicate of my address under yesterday's date by the convoy; and this is purposely dispatched to advise you that Kamal-ud-din Khan[1], the Nawab of Ahmadabad, has agreed to deliver up that place to the Marathas on their paying him 1,05,000 and permitting him to leave the place with his family and effects, and the Marathas will enter the place to-morrow [*i.e. 5th April, 1753*]. *Ahmadabad captured*

Surat, 12th April, 1753 (1752-53, S. F. 10) 1753
At a Consultation.

The Chief reads to the Board a private letter from Mr. Erskine,[2] advising him that the Nawab and all the principal merchants of Cambay are preparing to go up with presents to the Marathas at Ahmadabad to compliment them on their taking that place, and intimates that the *Presents to Marathas*

1 Kamal-ud-din, also known as Jawan Mard Khan Babi had usurped the governorship of Ahmadabad in 1743; he surrendered the city to the Marathas, under the joint command of Raghunathrao and Damaji, in 1753 (*Watson, History of Gujarat* 128, 141 ; *Gaz. Bar. State*, I, 458. For a short account of the Babi family see *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XXI, 23.

2 Charles Crommelin, Chief at Surat; Robert Erskine, Resident at Cambay.

same may be expected from him. We consider how prevalent compliments of this kind are with these Country People, that it is probable, should we be singular on this occasion, the Marathas may be disgusted there at, thinking we slight them, and be a reason for them to give us trouble in transporting down the goods of the investment manufactured at Ahmadabad and the places adjacent. Therefore agree to order Mr. Erskine to dispatch the broker to them with a complimental letter and suitable present; the Secretary is directed accordingly to prepare a letter to him.

1753 *Surat, 12th April, 1753 (1752-53, S. F. 10)*
Charles Crommelin to Robert Erskine.

Presents to Marathas The Chief having laid before us a private letter from you, wherein you mention that the Nawab and the principal merchants of Cambay are preparing to set out with presents to the Marathas at Ahmadabad to compliment them on their taking that place, we think it necessary you should send the broker with a small present to them also and a complimental letter, if the Nawab, etc. proceed as intended; otherwise the broker must not go; and in such case your sending a complimental letter will be sufficient.

1753 *Cambay, 5th May, 1753 (1752-53, S. F. 10)*
Robert Erskine to Charles Crommelin.

Unforseen difficulty Your commands of the 26th ultimo did not come to hand till the 30th at night, previous to which, having before received a letter from the Chief to the same purpose, I had that very day dispatched Edul to Ahmadabad with sundry presents to the value of near 200 Rupees, leaving it to his discretion to make use of them as he should see proper, and strenuously recommending frugality to him; but he has since wrote me from Dholka that the Marathas, having moved off toward Limdi, a considerable way inland, were got near forty kos before him; and that, if he was to follow them, he must be at the expense of keeping 20 or 30 peons extraordinary, the country he was to pass being much infested with Kolis. I therefore have wrote him to return, which, I hope, will be approved of.

1753 *Cambay, 17th May, 1753 (1752-53, S. F. 10)*
Robert Erskine to Charles Crommelin.

A parwanah My last address was dated the 5th instant, since when Edul is returned from the Maratha army having been treated by Raghunathrao with great complaisance, who gave him one parwanah for the greater security of the Hon'ble Company's goods coming from Dholka and Neriad under any of Nana's governors, and another forbidding Damaji[1] to take or plunder any English or other merchant vessels on pain of his taking the strictest satisfaction; which, I hope, will lay some retraint on his piracies for the present, and as they are not on good terms, I doubt not but he (Raghunathrao) will soon totally suppress them.

---

1 The parwanah granted by Rughanathrao shows the political subjection to which Damaji had been reduced.

Surat, 21st September, 1753 (*1753-56, S. F. 12*) 1753
The Nawab's statement.

The Sidi usurper

He [*Safdar Khan*] then began with telling us that the Sidi had never received a commission from Court, what he gave out some time ago in his son's name having been forged by his vakil at Delhi; that Nana had long ago received the King's orders to turn the Sidi out of the Castle, which Raghunathrao acquainted him (the Nawab) with, whilst he was besieging Ahmadabad, and invited him to join his forces with theirs; or if he chose to be of the Sidi's side, that Nana would attack them both; and that Raghunathrao, who was going to Delhi, had again wrote him to the same purport; that in three or four days at farthest the King's orders would come to all the principal men residing in the city to join him in this affair, should the Sidi make any resistance; but he thought it better to have it done by a general association than to call in the Marathas; but, if the former was not practicable, he must have recourse to the latter, or he should be no better than a rebel.

Surat, 24th September, 1753 (*1753-56, S. F. 12*) 1753
Nana's request.

Maratha proposals

The Maratha agent came and delivered the Chief a letter wrote in Persian and sealed with a large seal, said to be Nana's, which being read by the Company's munshi, it was found to import that the Sidi, having held the Castle without any commission from Court, he was esteemed no better than a rebel. That the king had therefore given him orders to assist Safdar Khan in taking the Castle from the Sidi, and he desired we would join in the execution thereof. In answer to this we verbally told the agent that we were unacquainted with the King's orders to Nana for taking the Castle; neither had we received any from our superiors to engage in such a business; and for an answer to the letter we referred him to the Hon'ble the President at Bombay.

Surat, 25th September, 1753 (*1753-56, S. F. 12*) 1753
English mediation.

The Nawab warned

The preparations for war between the two Governors [*Safdar Khan and Sidi Masud*] increasing every day, and numbers of Marathas being assembled in the several towns and villages within eight miles round the city, we resolved to try once more if any method could be found to put a stop to them; and therefore sent a message to the Nawab, desiring he would permit Faris Khan[1] to come to the Factory; he accordingly came, when we again represented to him the folly of the Nawab's attempt, and what little reason there was to think the Marathas would deliver the Castle to him, but instead that the town would be destroyed and both together fall into Nana's hands, who would deprive the Nawab of his authority and in all probability oblige him to leave the town. Faris Khan insisted that the Marathas would obey the King's orders, and that they had no intention of keeping the town. However he proposed that both parties should wait two months; and if in that time the King's orders came to the Sidi for delivering up the Castle, it should be obeyed; or if he

1 When Ali Nawaz Khan went over to the Sidi, Safdar Khan transferred his favour to Faris Khan, who was *persona grata* to the English and the Marathas (*Gaz. Bom. Pres.* II, 125).

could get a commission for holding it, the Nawab should then acquiesce and give himself no further concern about it. As to the Marathas, he said the Nawab could satisfy them by showing them the writing which must be drawn up to the foregoing purport. We promised him to acquaint the Sidi with this proposal and let the Nawab know his answer.

1753 *Surat, 15th October, 1753 (1753-56, S. F. 12)*
Treaty between Safdar Khan and the Sidi.

A truce The Chief acquaints the Gentlemen that Safdar Khan and the Sidi have bound themselves by a treaty that no hostilities shall be committed on either side until three months hereafter; and that, if in the interim any orders are received from the King regarding their present dispute, that the same shall be strictly obeyed; which treaty is signed by the officers of both parties, who are bound to see the same duly executed; and that all the acting men seeming very desirous that he (the Chief) and the head Saïd of the place should sign (barely as witnesses) to the treaty, he asks the Gentlemen's sentiments in respect thereto. It being considered that the Chief's compliance with their request can be attended with no ill consequences, the Board assents to it.

1753 *Surat, 18th November, 1753 (1753-56, S. F. 12)*
Surat threatened.

Marathas troublesome The Marathas continue about the walls of the city, which prevents our completing Your Honour, &ca's indent for beef; nor have we a proposal of procuring any, until they remove out of this neighbourhood.

1753 *Bombay, 1st December, 1753 (1749-54, P. D. Let. to Court of Dir. 2)*
Bombay to Court of Directors.

Peace and trouble It was expected that an open rupture would have happened at Surat between Safdar Khan, who governs the town, and Sidi Masud in possession of the Castle; but a truce is since concluded and, we hope, will be productive of a peace; but, as Safdar Khan promised the Marathas a certain sum to expel the Sidi from the place, which he has not complied with, they have blocked up the city and prevent all kinds of provisions and everything else from going in or out.

1753 *Surat, 10th December, 1753 (1753-56, S. F. 12)*
Extract from accounts.

Presents to Marathas November 19th : Paid the following, presented to the Marathas' agent and his followers coming to the Factory with a letter from Nana, *viz.*

Scarlet cloth, 1 piece ..	127,32	
1 Piece of silk and shawls ..	94	
		221,32

1754 *Bombay, 28th January, 1754 (1749-54, P. D. Let. to Court of Dir. 2)*
Bombay to the Court of Directors.

⅓ Surat revenue We acquainted Your Honours in our address by the Dodington that a truce was concluded at Surat between Safdar Khan and Sidi Masud, but that the Marathas on account of some promises from the former had blocked up the city. They have since come to an accommodation, the Government agreeing to grant them one-third of the revenues.

Surat, 19th April, 1754 (1753-56, S. F. 12) 1754
At a Consultation.

Difficulties at Surat

We having of late met with frequent insults both from the Moors and the Maratha Government of this place, the former (since the posts of power fell into the hands of the slaves) have imprisoned on trifling pretences several people under our protection, and the latter within these ten days have stopped our goods coming in from the out-parts, and seized the persons of Jafarji Mahmudboy (one of the contractors for the last investment) and a relation of his; and as our repeated application for redress has been without effect, Safdar Khan having entirely lost his authority, the Sidi will give us no satisfaction, but rather seems to encourage the slaves in their insolence; and the Marathas plainly tell us that these their proceedings are with intent to compel us to pay them a third part of the peshkash, and peremptorily insist on our delivering it into their hands or giving them a writing for the sum, before they will redress us. We therefore met to take the foregoing into consideration and agree to represent the whole fully to the Hon'ble the President and Council; also that the Sidi has of late been very infirm; and should he not recover, we judge his death will occasion great revolutions in the town; and further agreed to refer to them what measures are proper to secure the Hon'ble Company's property and privileges against any ill consequences that are likely to ensue from the present situation of affairs.

Maratha demands

Appeal to Bombay

Bombay, 29th April, 1754 (1754, P. D. 27A) 1754
Letter from Surat.

Factors complain

Received a letter per pattemar from the provisional Chief and Factors at Surat, dated the 23rd instant, acquainting us that they are obliged to complain of the ill treatment they had lately received from Nana Pandit (the Nana's agent), who had for some days past stopped their goods coming in from the out-parts and seized the persons of Jafarji Mahmudboy (one of the contractors for last year's investment) and his relation, as they were returning from Navsari. The reason he gave for this proceeding was that he wanted one-third part of the peshkash, demanding of them immediate payment thereof, or that they should give a writing for the amount, being Rupees four thousand; that they [*the Chief and Factors*] represented to him he ought to settle this point with the Government, and that they could not pay it without an order from the Nawab, who always received it in the month of September and not before; that application was made to the two Governors on this occasion, but without effect, the Nawab declaring plainly that he had no power, and the Sidi putting them off with trifling answers, though they were convinced he might satisfy the Marathas if he pleased, who, although they pretended to stop all communication with the town, yet grain and necessaries came in as usual; and it was their people's goods only they kept in custody.

Bombay, 1st May, 1754 (1754, P. D. 27A) 1754
Bombay to Surat.

Bombay directions

Signed our letter to the provisional Chief and Factors at Surat to go by the Bombay Grab, acknowledging the receipt of their letter of the

23rd ultimo, wherein they advised of the obstruction Nana's agent had put on their goods, his seizing the persons of Mahmudboy Jafferboy and his nephew, and his insisting on their paying him one-third of the peshkash; in regard to all which we acquainted them that proper remonstrances should be made to the Nana; but, as he is now at a great distance, it would be some time before an answer could be received. However we hoped they would be able to adjust everything with the agent without waiting for the Nana's order, though positively directing them not to pay anything on part of the peshkash, unless the Nawab consented thereto. As to the Hon'ble Company's effects, we left it to their discretion to secure the best manner in their power, as the circumstances of affairs might require, which they on the spot must certainly be the judges of.

1754 *Bombay, 6th May, 1754 (1754, P. D. 27A)*
Letter from Surat.

Maratha extortions Came in a pattemar from Surat, by whom we received a letter from the provisional Chief and Factors, dated the 27th ultimo.

That the Marathas had released Mahmudboy Jafferboy and his relation as well as the Hon'ble Company's goods, but beat them, and obliged the former to give security and a writing to pay four thousand Rupees as their third part of the peshkash, in case the Hon'ble Company don't, extorting from him to the amount of two thousand Rupees; for all which they could not obtain any redress.

1754 *Surat, 28th November, 1754 (1753-56, S. F. 12)*
The Maratha Governor of Cambay.

A present to be made The Maratha Governor of this place (whom I have never yet paid a visit to) arrived here a few days ago from Poona; as he often hints to our broker that he expects I will come and see him, I cannot well defer it longer, as these people are grown more powerful here than the Moguls; and as I cannot avoid making him a present to the value of 50 or 60 Rupees on such an occasion, I choose to advise [*you*] of it, and shall defer waiting on him, till I have your answer.

1754 *Surat, 27th December, 1754 (1753-56, S. F. 12)*
Confusion at Cambay.

Trouble at Cambay This place at present is in great confusion, the Nawab [*Momin Khan*] having this morning surprised and brought prisoners into the Darbar the Maratha Governor[1], his second and all his officers, and has plundered and burnt his house to the ground; which was occasioned by the Nawab's intercepting some letters to the Maratha from a slave that was formerly kotwal at Ahmadabad, who has been strolling about the country some time with an army of 4 or 5,000 men[1], these letters[2] having discovered to the Nawab some treachery these two were devising against the town (of Cambay).

The merchants, who left the town some months ago on some disgust from the Governor and have hitherto been altercating with the Nawab

1 Baghwantrao, the Peshwa's deputy, who was planning to conquer Cambay (Watson, *History of Gujarat*, 143).

2 According to Watson the incriminating letters were written, not to Baghwantrao, but by him and addressed to Salim Jamadar at Ahmadabad.

about their return, without being able to come to any agreement, as they trusted strongly in the Marathas' protection, having now heard of this accident, they have agreed to accept of the Nawab's own conditions, and are accordingly expected in town this afternoon.

Nawab's request

The Nawab has acquainted Edul that he purposes giving me a bill in two or three days' time for 2,000 Rupees either on Surat or Bombay, from which place he can be supplied with powder and lead to that amount, as he says that he doubts not we shall be very ready to oblige him in this his present distress. As I cannot accept of this bill without your positive orders, and am convinced that any evasive answer from me to his request would at this time greatly affront him, I beg your speedy directions for my guidance herein.

Surat, 29th December, 1754 (*1753-56, S. F. 12*) 1754
Bombay orders.

Request refused

We cannot consent to your accepting of any bill from the Nawab to be sent hither to purchase powder and lead for him, as this would be espousing his quarrel against the Marathas, which is contrary to the Hon'ble Company's orders and may be attended with ill consequences to their affairs; you are, therefore, not to interfere in it in any manner whatever, but take the best care you can of the Factory, should any further disturbances happen.

Bombay, 28th December, 1754 (*1754-55, P. D. Let. to Court of Dir. 3*) 1754
Bombay to the Court of Directors.

Commercial stagnation

The revolution which happened at Delhi by the dethroning of the Great Mogul Ahmad Shah, who has been since killed, and exalting Uddeel Shah for the just king to the throne together with the interposition of the Marathas (ever watchful and ready to take advantage of the distractions and commotions of the country and supineness and inactivity of the Moguls) made on this occasion, caused a general stagnation of trade in that part of the kingdom, and consequently prevented the usual demand and consumption of woollen goods there, which is about 200 bales annually. The disadvantageous footing on which the trade at Surat is in at present (Safdar Khan and Sidi Masud in a manner dividing the government, and being on all occasions seeking opportunities to fleece and oppress the merchants) prevented any cloth being sold there, which city usually took off about 100 bales.

Nana, the Maratha general, being under the necessity of sending a very great treasure to his brother at Delhi to support him in the advantages he purposes to make of the confusion there, has occasioned his being twelve months in arrears to his army, and [*is*] the cause why only half the usual quantity of cloth has been exported to Poona, the place of Nana's residence.

Surat, 1st November, 1755, (*1753-56, S. F. 12*) 1755
Letter from Cambay, dated, 28th October, 1755.

Fighting at Cambay

Received the following letter from Mr. Erskine at Cambay.

My last respects were dated the 14th, a few days after which the Maratha Governor of this place, whom the Nawab plundered and imprisoned last December and released again in March, having gathered to-

gether between two and three thousand men, entered the country belonging to Cambay and took and burnt one of the villages, killing some of the Nawab's people, who were there as a guard; upon which he [*the Nawab*] ordered the Maratha officer, who remained in town to receive their half of the customs and revenues, to leave the place, which he accordingly did. On the 26th there happened a small skirmish between a few horsemen of each side, without any material loss; but yesterday about one thousand of the Marathas fell upon two hundred of the Nawab's people a mile or two out of town, killed and wounded between thirty and forty, and took some drums and colours, and put the rest to flight; which I imagine will prevent their venturing again without the walls.

Nawab's request As I happened to be by him when his people returned, he desired that, as they were daunted, I would at present send a few people to that bastion which has long been usual for us to send sepoys to defend; which, although I would willingly have avoided, I could not well do in such a public place without greatly disgusting him (the Nawab) after its being a custom for so many years; besides, as the convoy will be up next springs, and we shall want the investment chopped, I was afraid a refusal might induce him to put some impediment upon that; which I thought was principally to be avoided. I therefore sent thither five extraordinary peons not belonging to the Factory, whom, as soon as I can get a proper opportunity to speak to the Nawab, I shall desire his permission to withdraw, being ordered to stand perfectly neuter on all occasions, which, I hope, will be approved of.

Request for help I hear the Marathas intend to encamp on that side of the town towards the bunder; therefore two gallivats will be very necessary for protecting the investment and other boats; and it would be well if they were all directed to come up as directly opposite to the town as possible without coming to an anchor up the river, as it is ten to one, if they are far distant from each other, but some freebooters of the Maratha army may attempt to plunder them.

1755 *Surat, 1st November, 1755 (1753-56, S. F. 12)*
Surat to Cambay.

Surat orders Your letter of the 28th ultimo came this day to hand, advising us of the fresh commotions at your place; which we are sorry should happen at this juncture, but would have you interfere no further in them than as a mediator you can contribute towards putting them to an end, or our Hon'ble Masters' interest may indispensably require. We have ordered two gallivats to proceed to your bunder to escort the boat, which goes for the investment, safely down.

1755 *Surat, 11th November, 1755 (1753-56, S. F. 12)*
Surat to Cambay.

Nana's letter Wrote the following letter to Mr. Erskine at Cambay.

The Hon'ble the President having sent the Chief a letter from the Nana to his officers at Cambay, relating to the Hon'ble Company's affairs meeting with no impediment, we think it necessary to forward you the same with a translate, as the present juncture of affairs may render it of service.

Surat, 16th February, 1756 (1753-56, S. F. 12)
Letter from Cambay, dated 13th February, 1756.

Peace and a present

The Marathas came to an accommodation with the Nawab here about the end of December [*1755*],[1] and I took that opportunity of delivering the order from Nana to his Governor here, which Your Honour, etc. forwarded me in November last. As he did not come into town, I was obliged to go out to his camp, and could not well avoid making him and his second some presents to the amount of about seventy Rupees, which, I hope, I may be permitted to charge in my annual accounts.

Surat, 2nd October, 1756 (1756-57, S. F. 13) 1756
Surat to Bombay.

Trouble at Cambay

Copy of your commands relating to the provision of salt beef at Cambay has been transmitted to Mr. Erskine, and Your Honour, etc. shall be duly informed of his reply as soon as it comes to hand; but the differences, at present subsisting between the Marathas[2] and the Nawab of that place, will, we fear, be an obstacle to the provision of any material quantity there.

Cambay, 17th October, 1756 (1756-57, S. F. 13) 1756
Cambay to Surat.

Ahmadabad captured by Momin K

This is purposely to advise Your Worship, etc. that on the 15th at night, our Nawab's[3] people to the number of 1,500, who went from here to Ahmedabad on the 8th, having been joined by a number of Kolis, scaled the walls of that place with little or no resistance; and getting possession of one of the gates, all rushed in. The Marathas retired to the Darbar, and held it till about 9 o'clock yesterday morning, when they fled out of a back-gate, to the number of 4 or 500, leaving behind them 3 elephants, a number of horses, etc., so that the Nawab's people are now in full possession of the place. He himself set out from hence this morning about 3 o'clock and must be arrived at Ahmadabad by this time.

Cambay, 1st January, 1757 (1756-57, S. F. 13) 1757
Cambay to Surat.

Damaji against Ahmadabad

On the 22nd our Governor here sent his fleet out with a design, as I believe, to intercept some of Damaji's gallivats, which, he had advice,

1 According to Watson peace was made between Momin Khan and the Marathas in 1754 (Watson, *History of Gujarat*, 144). But the chronological order followed in the Surat Diaries is more reliable. The Peshwa's deputy was imprisoned in December, 1754 (Extract of 27th December, 1754). He was released in March 1755 (Extract of 1st November, 1755). Thereupon fighting was carried on till December, 1755, when an understanding was arrived at. According to Watson Momin Khan paid 10,000 Rupees, (Watson, *History of Gujarat*, 145). The peace was shortlived for from the next letter it follows that about seven months afterwards hostilities had broken out afresh. See letter dated 2nd October, 1756.

2 Damaji was in command of the Marathas. See letter of 1st January, 1757.

3 The Gazetteer of the Baroda State, following Watson's account, says that Momin Khan made himself master of Ahmadabad in 1755 (*Gaz. Bar. State*, [illegible]). But from the Surat Diaries it follows that the peace, on this occasion, [illegible] by Momin Khan, was made in December 1755. See the preceding letter. [illegible] Momin Khan's *coup de main* came off in 1756. A graphic description of [illegible] of the city is given by Watson *History of Gujarat*, 148.

were coming to Jambusar with cannon to be employed against this place or Ahmadabad; but his fleet missing them.

As Damaji with an army of about eight or ten thousand men, which daily increases, intends shortly either to besiege this place or Ahmadabad[1], could a gallivat with a small detachment of Topasses possibly be spared to remain here till this confusion is at an end? It would be of great service for the security of the effects belonging to the Hon'ble Company and those under their protection here, of which there is a considerable quantity now at Cambay; and as the Factory is a place of no force, there is no answering what might be the consequence, should the place either be taken by force or treachery.

1757 *Surat, 3rd January, 1757 (1756-57, S. F. 13)*
Surat to Cambay.

Surat's optimism *And prudence*

From the infirm state of Damaji's health and the few men he had with him (which were not quite 3,000, and those very wretched creatures) when he lately passed by here, we do not think he is capable of possessing himself either of Ahmadabad or your place. Nevertheless for the greater security of the Hon'ble Company's effects and those of people under their protection, we permit of your detaining a gallivat, whilst you apprehend any risk to either from the confusion which may subsist at Cambay, till it be more certain whether or not the place is liable to be attacked by him; but we cannot add to the complement of Topasses which each gallivat has on board, having no more than are absolutely necessary for their defence and what the constant service of the Factory requires.

1757 *Surat, 3rd January, 1757 (1756-57, S. F. 13)*
Surat to Bombay.

Fear of Damaji

We have taken out of the Viper five barrels of gunpowder for the service of the gallivats; and as Mr. Erskine has represented to us, as of importance for the security of the Hon'ble Company's effects and those of the people under their protection, that one gallivat should remain at Cambay, till the confusions are over which at present subsist there from the fear of Damaji attacking the place, we request Your Honour, etc. will spare us another in her stead to strengthen the northern convey with.

1757 *Cambay, 9th January, 1757 (1756-57, S. F. 13)*
Cambay to Surat.

Cambay safe

As Damaji is at present employed before Ahmadabad, where he has been encamped some days, and as there seems not to be so much probability of his taking it so soon as was at first apprehended, I have thought proper to return the Shark with the convoy, and shall write for her being returned again, when the security of the effects belonging to the Hon'ble Company or those under their protection may require it.

1757 *Surat, 31st January, 1757 (1756-57, S. F. 13)*
Surat to Bombay.

Damaji's grab

We now return the Viper, Content Sloop and Swift Gallivat, by which we had the honour of your commands of the 14th on the 23rd

1 See Watson, *History of Gujarat*, 146.

instant, and have laden sundries on the two former, and a Grab taken by them from Damaji's fleet in their passage hither, amounting to Rupees 7,743, agreeable to invoice and bill of lading enclosed.

Cambay, 9th May, 1757 (1756-57, S. F. 13) 1757
Robert Erskine (who handed over charge of the Residency on the 29th April, 1757 to Robert Lambert) to Surat.

As I shall set out about the 24th instant, be so good as to forward *Parwanah* me the customary parwanahs for passing the Marathas' chaukis on the road for a palanquin, two horses, three hackeries[1] and two banges;[2] and if a Maratha harkara could be sent so as to meet me at Broach, it would save me a deal of trouble at the chaukis.

Surat, 6th August, 1757 (1756-57, S. F. 13) 1757
Surat to Bombay.

The encouragement given by the Nawab of Cambay, the Marathas *Soldiers enlisted* and this Government to all sorts of people who are in the least degree acquainted with the use of arms, has not only very considerably enhanced their price, but left few or none at this time to be got.

Surat, 25th August, 1757 (1757-58, S. F. 646) 1757
Cambay to Surat.

Of very late the Governor of Petlad has got together two or three *Cambay unsafe* thousand Kolis with whom and an aid of 600 horsemen, sent him from the Maratha army, he makes frequent excursions, sometimes almost to the very walls of Cambay, so that it is very dangerous for any of the inhabitants here to venture to a distance from the town.

Surat, 12th November, 1757 (1757-58, S. F. 646) 1757
Surat to Bombay.

By the convoy we received your commands of the 30th ultimo *A boat captured* on the 8th instant; one of the boats, which we sent down with sepoys, was taken by Damaji in her return with the fleet. The rest of the trade arrived safe.

Bilimora, 15th November, 1757 (1756-57, S. F. 13) 1757
John Cadden, Master of the Shark, to Surat.

The 12th instant I weighed from Surat Bar by an order from Capt. *The Shark captured* Morgan to go down to Gandevi to get the wood boats out against his coming down. At 5 o'clock we saw 8 gallivats belonging to Damaji at the mouth of the river, and at sunset I anchored and made the signal according to my orders; and the next morning at 10 o'clock Damaji's fleet weighed and stood off. I weighed at the same time and stood to the southward, thinking that they were bound out to the westward. But they followed me; upon which I hoisted my colours and fired a gun to the leeward, but they made no answer. When they came within a hail, I asked them what they wanted. They told me they were coming

1 Native bullock-carts.

2 Bangi or bahargi meant originally a bamboo furnished at each end with cords to which luggage was fastened (Hobson-Jobson). Here the word seems to stand for the persons carrying loads by means of this contrivance.

to take me, and so fired 2 shots at me. I beat off the first three gallivats that came up with me; on which their Commodore made the signal for boarding, and they all bore down. I fired hot upon them, but the Commodore and four more boarded me, on which I struck the colours. The conflict lasted for two hours; in which the gunner was terribly burnt by one of our guns blowing at the touch-hole, the hawaldar and one sepoy killed outright, and several wounded at the time of boarding. I am cut in the face and over the arm, and am now at Bilimora, where both I and the people are kindly treated by the Modi's son at Surat and the timber-merchant Nathu Limji, by keeping us out of irons and endeavouring to get us our liberty; and they say, as soon as we are set at large, they will provide us with what may be convenient to carry us to Surat.

1757 *Bombay, 22nd November, 1757 (1757, P. D. 30B)*
Letter from Surat.

Loss of the Shark Came in a pattemar with a letter from the Chief and Factors at Surat under the 16th instant, advising the loss of the Shark gallivat taken by Damaji off Gandevi, where she was sent to hasten out the timber boats; the particulars of the action being related in a letter from the Master, they enclosed the same.

1758 *Surat, 16th January, 1758 (1757—58, S. F. 646)*
Letter from Cambay.

Rumours of peace We have now current reports here of a reconciliation negotiating between the Marathas and the Nawab of Gujarat;[1] and these [*are*] related with such other circumstances as give the reports a face of credibility. It's confidently affirmed that there are arrived in the Maratha army several horsemen with positive orders from the Nana to the heads of these forces to compromise their differences with the Nawab and to grant him the same conditions his father formerly had in the possession of that place,[2] that is one-half of the revenues he shall enjoy, and the other to be collected by such persons as the Nana shall choose to appoint in his own behalf, so that we are in daily expectation of seeing an end to these disturbances.

1758 *Surat, 28th January, 1758 (1757-58, S. F. 646)*
Letter from Cambay to Surat.

Peaces delayed Those horsemen from Nana, which I formerly mentioned to have been arrived in the Maratha army before Gujarat[3], have not as hitherto effected anything towards a reconciliation between the two contending powers;[4] and this delay is imputed to the peace said to be lately made between the Nana and Salabat Jang, so that it is now reported that the Marathas insist on the Nawab's relinquishing Gujarat; and as he, notwithstanding the difficulties he labours under, does not relax in the least from his former demands, we have yet but little hopes of seeing a speedy end to these disturbances.

---

1 Momin Khan.

2 When Momin Khan I, with the aid of Damaji, captured Ahmadabad in 1738, he received one-half of the revenue (Watson, *History of Gujarat*, 119).

3 Ahmadabad.

4 This attempt at a reconciliation on terms so favourable Momin Khan is not mentioned by Watson

Bombay, 17th March, 1758 (1758, S. & P.D. 4) 1758
Letter from Surat, dated 11th March, 1758.

A. N. Khan and the Marathas

I have the strongest grounds to suspect, that an invitation has been given from Ali Nawaz Khan to the Marathas for taking his person and government under their protection with a promise of the city-gates being opened to them, in case of our bringing any force against the place; and to enforce the proposals made on this occasion. Appaji Pandit, Shankarji's agent, either set out last night, or departs this morning for Bassein.

Bombay, 17th March, 1758 (1758, S. & P. D. 4) 1758
Extract from the Poona agent's letter.

Ahmadabad

We have a flying report that Ahmadabad is taken by Damaji[1]

Cambay, 28th February, 1758 (1758-59, S. F. 14) 1758
Robert Lambert to Brabazon Ellis.

Ahmadabad captured by Damaji

At last the Nawab has delivered up Gujarat[2] to the Marathas and is come with his army, their families and effects to a village ten miles distant from hence, and will to-morrow enter Cambay. I as yet learn no certain information on what condition he and the Marathas have settled. Some say he has been paid a large sum of money and is to hold Cambay and Gogo entirely to himself; others that Damaji, with whom the Nawab has negotiated this peace, is in future to enjoy that part of the revenues of this place, which formerly appertained to Nana. These are the reports we hear, but thus much is certain that the Nawab has lost that place entirely through the differences between himself and his Diwan, who was the chief author of his taking Gujarat, and who also maintained himself there in a power superior even to that of the Nawab.

Surat, 20th March, 1758, (1757-58, S. F. 646) 1758
Letter from Cambay.

Terms of settlement

In my last address under the 28th ultimo, I informed Your Honour, etc. of the return of the Nawab, but knew not then certainly on what conditions he had settled with the Marathas. It is now public that he also has delivered them up all Gogo, and granted them a half share in the Cambay government. In a few days we expect the Maratha pandit, who is to stay here with a power equal, if not superior, to the Nawab's; and as it will be needful for me to make him some present on his arrival, and also to give something to the Nawab on this occasion of his return, I beg your permission to comply with what has been a rule in similar cases.

Bombay, 8th April, 1758 (1758, P. D. Let. to Court of Dir. 5) 1758
Bombay to the Court of Directors.

Boats confiscated

The Viper Ketch, Content Sloop, and Swift Gallivat having brought in a grab, which they had taken on their return from Surat on the 7th

1 Watson gives a detailed account of the siege and capture of Ahmadabad (*History of Gujarat*, 146—147). According to him the town surrendered in April, 1757; but this date does not seem to be correct. From the next letter dated Surat, 28th February, 1758, it follows that Momin Khan surrendered Ahmadabad in the last days of February, 1758.

2 Ahmadabad.

February, 1757, also two Koli boats, the gallivats there met with between Dumas and the Bar, we ordered the superintendent to receive charge of them and some trifling effects on board the latter, till we could see whether any claims would be made; and some Bhavnagar merchants demanding the boats, by virtue of some passes said to have been obtained from different Country Powers, we appointed a Committee to examine into the validity of them; but they not being able to proceed therein, from the masters of the gallivats at Surat being possessed of the passes and papers said to be found in them, we referred it to the Chief and Factors there. However the Bhavnagar merchants' reasons proving very insufficient, and their agent owning they were manned by Kolis, we condemned them on the 12th April for the benefit of the captors, as we likewise did the above-mentioned grab, being fully satisfied that she was the property of Damaji.

Shark restored The Shark Gallivat proceeded the 31st October with some other vessels as a convoy to Surat; and on the 22nd following we were advised from your servants there that she was taken by Damaji's fleet off Gandevi, on their sending her thither to hasten out some timber boats against the arrival of the rest of the convoy. We immediately ordered the Superintendent to examine the Master and others, on their arrival, concerning it; and the Select Committee intended taking satisfaction of Damaji for that and the capture of a boat, which had brought down some sepoys on her returning with the convoy. However we have the pleasure to advise Your Honours, that the Select Committee effected the restoration of the Shark, her crew and stores in an amicable manner; *Master punished* but we being satisfied from the report of an enquiry into the Master's conduct, laid before us the 28th February as per copy under No. 175, that he not only suffered himself to be surprised by Damaji, but left his syrang, four lascars, a sepoy at Surat, without his commanding officer's knowledge, we determined that he should never have the command of vessels in Your Honours' service, and have besides turned him on board one of your cruisers to serve before the mast such time as the Superintendent may judge necessary, to deter any other person from behaving in the like manner.

1758 *Cambay, 14th October, 1758 (1758-59, S. F. 14)*
Letter from Robert Lambert.

Peace at Cambay Our Nawab having settled with the head of the Maratha army by giving them a small present, such as is customary for all towns near which they encamp to pay them, we expect they will march hence this day or to-morrow.

1758 *Surat, 6th November, 1758 (1758-59, S. F 14)*
Surat to Bombay.

Marathas near Cambay Our last respects were dated the 19th ultimo per Drake, and on the 21st we received your commands of the 14th, in consequence whereof we immediately directed Mr. Lambert's assistant at Cambay, (he himself being come down here, for the benefit of a change of air) to comply with Your Honour, &ca's, orders regarding cattle; in answer to which he has advised us that, the Marathas being still near the place, the butchers dare not go out to purchase any, till they were removed to a greater distance.

Cambay, 29th September, 1758 (1758-59, S. F. 14) 1758
Robert Lambert to Brabazon Ellis.

Marathas near Cambay

It is impossible at this time to procure any quantity of cattle here, because the Marathas have an uncontrolled sway in all the adjacent countries and much power even in Cambay; for the Nawab's affairs at present are so circumstanced as makes it prudent for him not to thwart the pandit here in anything he does, except directly and greatly indeed tending to the Nawab's own prejudice; for which reasons the butchers will not enter into any contract for cattle with me, nor even be prevailed upon to venture into the country to make trial whether any can be purchased from thence.

Cambay, 5th October, 1758 (1758-59, S. F. 14) 1758
Robert Lambert to Brabazon Ellis.

Cambay threatened

Damaji and Ramchandra are fallen with an army of twenty-thousand men within six or seven kos of this place; but, as they do not hitherto molest either the inhabitants or cattle of Cambay, we are not certain (though much suspect) that their designs are against this city.

P.S.—Since closing the above, the Marathas are encamped within a gun-shot of the town-wall, but have not yet begun to fire against the place.[1]

1 The struggle between Cambay and the Marathas did not end in 1758. The concluding phase is narrated in the 1761—63 *Surat Factory, Diary*, 16. See letters from the 28th January, 1762, to the 17th November, 1762.

No. 9 THE CAPTURE OF SURAT CASTLE BY THE ENGLISH (1758-1759)

THE Surat Factors and the Bombay authorities had long been anxious to gain possession of Surat Castle, because they hoped thereby to be in a position to extend adequate protection to their merchants, whilst the securing of the tankha attached to the Castle would enable them to equip and maintain an efficient fleet, so that both on land and sea their mastery would be firmly established to the great discomfiture of their enemies and their competitors.

The 1758–1759 venture was not, therefore, in the nature of a first attempt; it was rather the culmination of a long series of strivings persistently persevered in, some of them resulting in failures, others partially successful, but all of them paving the way to the same end. Thus much may be easily gathered from those documents which deal with the various contests that took place in Surat between rival factions, such as the struggle for supremacy between Miah Achind and Safdar Khan, between Safdar Khan and Sidi Masud, between Ali Navaz Khan and Miah Achind, and so on. A comprehensive summary of the political aspirations of the Surat Factors is contained in the opening extract taken from Jonathan Duncan's famous Minute and recapitulating the salient features of this particular conquest.

As regards the 1758-1759 venture, it consists of two phases. In March, 1758, the English thought that the time had at last come when they might successfully carry out their long cherished design; but the project was suddenly given up, shortly after it had been embarked on. In March, 1759, a fresh attempt proved successful. The part played by the Marathas, in frustrating the first, and allowing the second attempt to come off, will sufficiently appear from the

documents and the annotations. If the Marathas had not been divided amongst themselves, if the Peshwa had not opposed the Gaikwad, Surat would not have fallen into English hands, at least not in 1759. Thus the documents here published open new vistas, the very existence of which is not even hinted at in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, II, 125-127.

DOCUMENTS

Bombay, 19th August, 1798, (1798, S. & P. D. 66) 1746-1759
Jonathan Duncan's Minute on Surat Castle.

6. Tegh Bakht, dying in the year 1746, appears to have shortly thereafter had for his successor as hakim, or governor of the town, the Nawab Safdar Khan, whose son, Wiqar Khan, entered at the same time on the killadari, or command of the Castle. *Safdar K. Nawab*

The peaceable state of things proved, however, but of short continuance; for in, or about, the year 1748 a Said named Miah Achind, otherwise known under the name of Moyeen-ud-din Khan, and the grandfather of the present Nawab, having married into the family of the late Tegh Bakht Khan, was able through the assistance of the begum, his widow, and of his own relation, Ali Nawaz Khan, to possess himself, under coulour also of the royal authority, of the Castle from Wiqar Khan. *Achind's success and failure*

He then applied for the assistance of the already named Damaji, agreeing in return to give up a fourth of the revenues of Surat, and by this support and that of the English he was able also to expel Safdar Khan from the Darbar, or civil government of the city, in which he continued to rule till 1751, when he was in his turn attacked by Wiqar Khan, and obliged to abandon the town, and seek refuge in the Castle, which fell in consequence of these dissensions in the custody of Sidi Masud of the family of the already named Sidis of Rajapur or Janjira.

7. In the prosecution of the contest between Wiqar Khan and Miah Achind, the former is stated to have also applied for assistance to Damaji, on a stipulation that he should enjoy half the revenue of Surat; but, when the business was accomplished, and his father, Safdar Khan, returned from Tatta (whither he had proceeded on being in 1748 drawn out by Achind), objections were raised by the said Khan, who had by this time resumed the administration, to the payment of so large a proportion; and instead of half, it was settled to give Damaji only a third of the makta and other income; and in 1752-3 Damaji agreed among other concessions to cede to his superior, the Peshwa, one moiety of his chauth or rather third share on the Surat revenues. *Damaji's share*

Sidi's share 8. And in consideration of the Sidi's having also latterly promoted the recall and restoration of Safdar Khan, he is stated to have obtained from the latter, in right of the tankha for the fleet, a third in the golah mandavi[1], or tolls levied on grain, and a like proportion in the income from the courts of justice. *Offer to English rejected* But dissensions soon after arose between Safdar Khan and his relation, Ali Nawaz Khan, on the one part, and the Sidi on the other, so that in January, 1751, a negotiation was set on foot between them and Mr. Ellis, our Chief at Surat, for expelling the Sidi from the Castle, which was to be given up to the Nawab, and the fleet to be consigned to the Company, for the support of which they were to receive from the Nawab a lakh of Rupees per annum; but political considerations prevented our then availing ourselves of this offer, and other events intervened to create a difference between the Nawab and Ali Nawaz Khan, who had connected himself with the Sidi and the Dutch, and whose views were ultimately directed to the nawabship, in which *Faris K.* the said Nawaz Khan had for opponent Faris Khan, a man who was being at that time also protected by the Marathas and secretly favoured by Safdar Khan. This last circumstance appears to have induced the Bombay Government to resolve in 1757 to open a correspondence *Nawaz K. Nawab* with him (Faris Khan), but meanwhile Safdar Khan died suddenly in January, 1758, supposed to have been taken off by poison by his relation, the afore-said Ali Nawaz, who became thereon Safdar's successor in the hakimi or nawabship of Surat, as had in 1756 the Sidi Ahmad Khan that of his father Masud in the custody of the Castle.

Request to English 9. The people of Surat appear, however, to have been so dissatisfied with the Sidi and with the Nawaz that in the same month of the latter's accession they offered through Mr. Ellis to make up for five years any deficiency of two lakhs of Rupees per annum in the respects from the tankha or assignment for the support of the fleet, and [*any deficiency*] of the funds for the maintenance of the Castle, if the Company should resolve to take possession of them, which they appear to have been again deterred from attempting, in dread of the resentment of the Maratha Government, who had views at this time of taking Surat to themselves, notwithstanding our having in March, 1758, provided so far as to enter into a formal treaty with Faris Khan, stipulating to put him in possession of the government of the town, taking to ourselves the Castle and fleet; Faris Khan being at the expense of this expedition, for which he bound the phurja or custom-house, besides two lakhs to be raised by a vera or levy on the city, in lieu of plunder to the army, and other articles not material here to recite.

Nawaz K. expelled M. Achind Nawab 10. This suspension of proceedings on our part afforded time for a revolution in Surat, occasioned by Miah Achind, *alias* Moyeen-ud-din Khan, who had on his dispossession in 1751 (as noticed in the 6th paragraph) repaired to Bombay, where his family having been left, his grandson, the present Nawab, was born here, about the year 1755; after which Achind was able by his own exertions, aided by the support of Sidi Ahmad, the commander in the Castle, and the influence of that branch of the late Tegh Bakht's family into which he had married, to expel in December, 1758, Ali Nawaz from the nawabship, and to effect his own reinstatement.

---

1 *Golah*, a store house for grain or salt; *mandavi*, custom-house, *Hobson-Jobson*.

11. Between the period of discontinuance of preparations in the early part of Faris Khan's and the end of Ali Nawaz's government, in December following, some injuries had been experienced by our people from the Castle, for which no redress could be procured. These circumstances, joined to a view of the advantages that might occur from our success, and a desire to anticipate the designs either of the Marathas or of any European nation led in the beginning of the year 1759 to a renewal of the intention to obtain for the Company the Castle and the fleet, and to fix Faris Khan in the civil government of that city, in concurrence, as appears, with the wishes of a considerable number of the inhabitants of Surat and in consequence of the solicitation of Sidi Jafar and Wali-ullah with others of that Khan's party; or, at least, if that was found unpracticable, he make him Naib to Achind. Upon the first intelligence of which from Bombay, the Chief and the other Gentlemen left Surat and went to the Bar, except Mr. Erskine, who remained in the city, but for whose security and that of the Factory we had, however, the family of the then ruling Nawab, Miah Achind, that, having hitherto continued at Bombay, had been just at this time sent back to Surat, but were now detained at the Bar on board of one of our vessels, till it should appear how affairs turned out, though it was afterwards agreed to release the Nawab's women (detaining only his nephew, Mir Massum,) hoping thereby entirely to alienate the said Achind from the Sidi at the same as to deter Nana's (*i.e.* the Peshwa) and Damaji the Gaikwad's agent from taking part against us on this occasion. Letters were written to them and to Naropant, the Commander-in-Chief of the Maratha fleet at the Bar, to assure them that there was no intention to trench or innovate on their masters' just rights and interests at Surat. *New English venture*

12. Thus circumstanced Miah Achind intimated to Mr. Erskine his being willing to join against the Sidi, provided he had security for the permanency of his own government in the city, which he at the same time signified his having heard that we were bringing Faris Khan to supplant him in; for which purpose the fleet accordingly arrived on the 15th of February with a body of land forces consisting of 800 Europeans infantry, of 1,500 sepoys and a detachment of the Royal Artillery; but their arrival was reported by the Chief and Council to have not only lost the springs, but thrown a damp on the party of Faris Khan, and given the Sidi more time for preparing for his defence and strengthening his party; notwithstanding which, they were still in hopes of accomplishing the object, towards the promotion of which it appears that there was a Saïd in the town, who together with Sidi Jafar were strenuously our friends on that occasion. *Troops sent to Surat*

13. On the 19th February a seerpao, horse, sword, etc. arrived from Nana to Achind, who, it appears became certain, would never enter into any agreement for anything less than the government, exclusive of which he appeared willing that we should give to Faris Khan what we pleased. It was also found that none of Faris Khan's party stirred in his favour within the town; the cause of which was explained in a private conference between Mr. Spencer and Wali-ullah on the 1st of March; whereat it was by the latter pleaded that all the women of the family of Teg Bakht and Safdar Khan had of late attached themselves to Achind and his son, that both he (Walli-ullah) and Jafar were now desirous *Faris K[illegible] [illegible]*

only on Faris Khan's coming in as Naib to Achind, but not as Nawab; in pursuance of which it was determined to proceed accordingly, and a treaty was entered into with Achind to that effect on the 4th March, on which day the Sidi agreed to give up the Castle and the fleet.

1758 *Surat, 23rd January, 1758 (1758-59, S. F. 14)*
Surat to Bombay.

Safdar Khan's death We had also called upon the maraphatios[2] this day to offer us terms for the freight of our Hon'ble Masters' ship Latham to Mocha; but on account of the death of Safdar Khan, which happened yesterday, they have excused themselves from coming to the Factory for some days to make any terms for freight, till Ali Nawaz Khan's permission is previously obtained.

1758 *Surat, 16th March, 1758 (1758-59, S. F. 14)*

A. N. Khan Ali Nawaz Khan having received a commission from Court, appointing him Nawab of Surat, the same was exhibited this day at the Darbar. *Chief's house* Notice being received in town that several Bombay cruisers appeared in sight from the Bar, the garden-house, where the Chief resides, was surrounded with five hundred of the Government's sepoys to prevent his retreat to the Bar, in opinion that those vessels were coming on hostile designs against the place.

1758 *Surat, 17th March, 1758 (1758-59, S. F. 14)*
Surat to Cambay.

Enlisting soldiers As the Nawab of Cambay had made [*many*] soldiers in his pay, which [*owing to*] the loss of Gujarat [*he*] must [*have*] little further service for, this serves to direct that you [*try to*] enlist whatever number of them, you can procure, [*and send them*] hither in the most expeditious manner you can by sea.

1758 *Surat, 19th March, 1758 (1758-59, S. F. 14)*
At a Consultation.

Attack on Surat The Chief informs the Board of the [*intentions*] of the Hon'ble President and Council of Bombay to fix Faris Khan [*in the*] Darbar, and of the preparations that are making at Bombay [*to this*] end. *Allaying suspicions* Agreed in order to remove the present alarm in town [*that the*] Revenge, Viper, Swift, and Swallow gallivats be dispatched to the [*Bar*] with orders (as entered hereafter), and that under pretence of making [*a*] party of pleasure to Dumas[3] we endeavour to withdraw to there. At the same time taking into consideration that much convenience [*may*] result in the dispatch of the Latham's business, in communicating our demands and receiving the overtures of the inhabitants of [*the place*] from having one Company's servant [*to*] continue on the spot, [*it*] is unanimously judged [*that it*] is liable to be attended with no [*harm or*] danger to him. Mr. Erskine makes the offer of remaining [*at the*] Factory; but Mr. Court, being in a

1 The details contained in paragraphs 11 to 13 are a summary of the various events as given in the subsequent extracts of the 1758—59, Surat Diary, 14.

2 Broker or agent (*Wilson*). In the English documents *marfutteah* is generally used.

3 Dumas—in the English Documents *Domus* is generally used—situated at the river's mouth, about 11 miles from Surat.

very bad state of [*health and*] apprehensive that by going to the Bar he should increase his [*illness*], desires that he may be the person left in town, which is accordingly agreed to.

Surat, 21st March, 1758 (1758-59, S. F. 14) 1758

Explanations withheld

The Chief after many importunities receives a visit from the kazi, whose errand appearing intended to discover our real design and palliate our resentments by fair promises of giving us no further cause of complaint, the Chief to avoid explanations on the subject recommends it as the most advisable scheme for his Master to address himself to the Governor and Council of Bombay and communicate to them whatever overtures he is disposed to make.

Surat, 22nd March, 1758 (1758-59, S. F. 14) 1758

Leaving Surat

Early this morning the Chief and all other Gentlemen belonging to the Factory, excepting Mr. Court, left town and came on board the Drake.

Surat, 24th March, 1758 (1758-59, S. F. 14) 1758

Return to Surat

At night arrived the Guardian from Bombay with a letter from the Select Committee to the Chief, who informed the Gentlemen of Council that our Superiors have relinquished [*their*] designs,[1] and that he purposes returning in the morning to town.

Surat, 28th March, 1758 (1758-59, S. F. 14) 1758

Surat to Bombay.

Bombay informed

In consequence of a representation to the Chief that it was expedient for the Hon'ble Company's affairs, early on the 22nd we all retired from town on board the Drake Gallivat at the Bar, except Mr. Court, whose weak condition would not permit him to leave the Factory. On the Guardian's arrival, the Chief acquainted us that it was no longer necessary for us to continue at the Bar, and accordingly we are again returned to town.

Surat, 6th April, 1758 (1758-59, S. F. 14) 1758

Surat to Bombay.

Complaints

It is with the greatest concern, we are obliged to acquaint Your Honour, etc. that after having had our business carried on without interruption or insult ever since Safdar Khan's decease, merely from the apprehensions entertained by this Government of our resentment, we have since our late return from the Bar found them [*to*] begin again more than ever to embarrass and obstruct our affairs, in particular the merchants, having 150 bales surplus freight, had at their own desire agreed with the Chief to ship them on board the Fame for Mocha; and accordingly several bales were marked for that vessel, and about [illegible] actually sent on board, when at Muncher's instigation three of the Government's chobdars were sent to our tent and by force, against the merchants' inclinations, who all retired from the tent, [illegible]

1 According to Grant Duff the Bombay Government gave up their [illegible] at capturing the Castle, because the Peshwa threatened to attack the [illegible] (Grant Duff., *History of the Mahrattas*, I, [illegible]).

of those bales intended for the Fame, and having carried them away, shipped them on board a Grab of Mulna's now at the Bar. We were yesterday likewise alarmed with an attempt of the mirbahr[1] to put a stop to the Latham's business and prevent the necessaries belonging to the passengers going on board, on account of our refusing a passage to a fakir on that ship, which, had we been less expeditious in loading than we were, we believe, would have left this place with a much smaller freight than she has now on board; and as such extraordinary steps in this Government may be attended with the worst consequences to our Hon'ble Masters' affairs, we think it incumbent on us to give you particular information of them.

Soldiers discharged Before we retired to the Bar, we had with permission from the Hon'ble the President wrote Mr. Lambert at Cambay[2] to enlist a number of Arabs; but being advised that those people's demands were very unreasonable, and that some other good country sepoys might then be met with there, we directed him to enlist them on the Hon'ble Company's account; and before we could countermand these orders, he had entered into conditions with, and actually enrolled upwards of four hundred; to disengage himself from which agreements he desired permission to compound with the tachardars[3] by repaying them what expenses they had been at in impressing people for our services, which we have permitted him to do, recommending to him to be as frugal as possible therein.

1758 *Surat, 8th May, 1758 (1758-59, S. F. 14)*
Surat to Bombay.

Complaints We are sorry to acquaint Your Honour, etc. that far from seeing any good effects from the Hon'ble President's remonstrance to Ali Nawaz Khan, not a day passes without furnishing us with some convincing instance of the little benefit that may be hoped to result from expostulating with him. On the 13th ultimo you were advised of the contract for khas-khas[4] we had made, and since then we have been continually repeating our applications for his permission for its exportation, which till yesterday could not be obtained; yet at the same time [*we*] have seen quantities carried through our Water-Gate[5] by other people.

1758 *Surat, 29th August, 1758 (1758-59, S. F. 14)*

Faris K. not wanted This day two open letters were sent the Chief by Ali Nawaz; one being for the Hon'ble President of Bombay, the other to himself, wrote in the name of Ghazi Khan, the Mogul's Wazir, and mentioned that advice had been received at Delhi, of Faris Khan's making pretensions to this Government, wherein he was supported by the Marathas; but

1 Custom, or harbour master. (Wilson).

2 See letter dated Surat, 17th March, 1758.

3 Thika-dar, a farmer, a lease-holder, a middleman, (Wilson). The word is here used in the last meaning.

4 The fragrant grass with the roots of which tatties are made.

5 One of the gates of the inner wall, situated along the river front. It was through this gate that under the terms of the charter of 1716, the English were, on payment of an yearly sum of Rs. 10,000 allowed to pass the goods free of duty. (*Gas. Bom. Pres.* II, 308).

that, as Ali Nawaz Khan was the King's proposed Governor, it was, therefore, expected that the English would espouse his cause in all such occasions.

Surat, 15th September, 1758 (1758-59, S. F. 14) 1758
At a Consultation.

Last night about half an hour after nine, two of the Modi's nephews in returning from the Lati, being assaulted midway between the two factories by a Habshi[1], who snatched at the clothes, which one of them had under his arm; whereupon a struggle ensued, when the other holding up a lanthorn, which he had in his hand, in order to get knowledge who the fellow was, the Habshi drew his sword and with one blow cut his arm almost off, and with a second felled him to the ground; the other brother, enraged hereat, endeavoured to seize the villain, but in the attempt received so many cuts that obliged him to fall, too, when the assassin made off. One of the brothers died this morning of his wounds, and the life of the other is very precarious. We are met, therefore, to take this affair into consideration, and weighing the bad consequences thereof, and that, if satisfaction is not obtained, we know not how soon the like may happen again. *Complaints*

Surat, 27th September, 1758 (1758-59, S. F. 14) 1758

Our frequent applications to the Nawab for satisfaction in regard to the murder of the Modi's two nephews having no likelihood of success, notwithstanding his most solemn and repeated promises on this head, as we imagine that he (the Nawab) cannot force the Sidi to deliver up the assassin, who, we are credibly informed, is an Arab in his service and in his possession, agreed, therefore, to represent the same to the Hon'ble President and Council of Bombay, desiring their most serious consideration thereon; because, if this affair is passed over without any satisfaction obtained or notice taken thereof, neither our servants, nor indeed our own lives and properties can be secured from attempts of the like kind. *Appeal to Bombay*

Surat, 6th November, 1758 (1758-59. S. F. 14) 1758
Surat to Bombay.

The disputes which have for some time subsisted between Ali Nawaz Khan and the Sidi were lately carried such a length that it was daily expected they would have come to blows; and as the Dutch and other merchants were taking measures for securing themselves and effects in case of such a rupture, we judged it necessary for the safety of our Hon'ble Masters' Factory and effects at this place to order up three of our galivats and land their detachments the 25th ultimo; but, as these dissensions seem to be at present subsided, the Sidi having a few days ago made a friendly visit at the Darbar, we have sent off the detachments again and ordered the vessels down to their usual stations at Dumas. From the best information we can get it seems certain that Ali Nawaz Khan is actually become a vassal of the Nana's, having put himself entirely under his protection; the consequence of which, we apprehend, *Nawaz K. in trouble*

1 Another name for Sidi.

must be in a short time the subjection of this place to the power of the Marathas.[1]

1758 *Surat, 3rd December, 1758 (1758-59, S. F. 14)*
Surat to Bombay.

Achind's rivalry Our last address went by pattemar under the 23rd ultimo, advising that Miah Achind had made himself master of Rander; he continues there and is daily gathering strength by forces coming to him from Broach and other places. We have all imaginable reason to believe that very shortly he will by some means get admittance into Surat, as the Sidi seems to favour his attempt.

Nawaz Khan's request Two days ago the Nawab sent us a message desiring to know if we would accept the charge of our Water-Gate and defend it against any attack that might be made that way. To this we replied that at present we could by no means accept a charge of that nature, first as it would be making us parties in a quarrel we had nothing to do with, and next that without the particular orders and leave obtained from our Superiors it would be presumption in us to undertake it; that we would refer it to Your Honour, etc. but feared no answer could arrive in time enough to be of any service to him.

1758 *Surat, 5th December, 1758 (1758-59, S. F. 14)*
Surat to Bombay.

Revolution at Surat This is sent express purposely to inform Your Honour, etc. that the same night Miah Achind came privately into town under the Sidi's protection. Yesterday at day-break the Castle saluted him, and soon afterwards the Darbar was attacked by the Sidi's and Miah Achind's people joined; they continued engaged all day, the Castle frequently firing upon the Darbar; towards night the firing was something slackened; but this morning it seems renewed again, and they still continue engaged. We judge that, notwithstanding the resistance which Ali Nawaz Khan makes, he cannot possibly hold the Darbar above a day or two, as most of the principal people have deserted him and gone over to Miah Achind. The inner gates of the town are all in the Sidi's possession, but the outer gates are at present guarded by Maratha people, before in Ali Nawaz Khan's service. From any circumstances that have yet happened we don't apprehend that the Marathas will be able to get any power in town more than what they before had.

1758 *Surat, 6th December, 1758 (1758-59, S. F. 14)*

Nawaz Khan defeated Ali Nawaz Khan sent out to capitulate. The terms granted him were that he should relinquish the Darbar and with his family and personal effects retire to a private house in town.

1758 *Surat, 9th December, 1758 (1758-59, S. F. 14)*
Surat to Bombay.

Achind's triumph Our last address was under the 5th instant per pattemar express, advising the engagement between the Darbar and Castle. The next

1 Balaji Bajirao's friendship for Nawaz Khan may help to explain why Nana sided with the English against Miah Achind and the Sidi, and was thus able to frustrate whatever attempts Damaji might have liked to make to prevent the English from seizing the Castle (See letter dated from Surat 11th February, 1759). If the Marathas had been united in their opposition to the English, the Castle would not have fallen into English hands.

day Ali Nawaz Khan capitulated, and all firing ceased. Yesterday he quitted the Darbar and is retired to a private house in town. Miah Achind is now in full possession of the city and will in a very few days make his public entry into the Darbar. The Marathas seem not to have gained any power more than what they had before.

Surat, 13th December, 1758 (1758-59, S. F. 14) 1758
Surat to Bombay.

At the earnest request of Sorabji Muncherji and Edul Dada, we gave them permission to proceed to Bombay on the ship Revenge; but, when going to embark, they were impeded by the Sidi's people at our Water-Gate; at length Sorabji was permitted to go, but Edul not. We yesterday wrote a rocca to the Sidi to know his reasons for it, and desired they might have liberty to proceed on the Guardian, but the only answer we could obtain was a reference to Miah Achind when he should be seated in the Darbar. This proceeding of the Sidi gives us reason to think he has some bad intentions against Edul Dada. *Complaints*

Surat, 3rd January, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14) 1759
Surat to Bombay.

In our address of the 13th ultimo Your Honour, etc. were advised of the impediment put by the Sidi to Edul Dada's proceeding to Bombay, as he then intended; from which time till the 27th of that month he remained in the Factory, when at his own particular request he was permitted to go to his own habitation, to and from which and the Factory he passed daily without any molestation till the 30th in the afternoon, when, as he and Nasserwanji Bomanji were coming to the Factory, some sepoys of Sidi Fame, the Amin, seized him and carried him to Sidi Fame's house, but offered no manner of violence to Nasserwanji. Immediate application was made to Miah Achind, and we procured Edul's release the same evening, without any maltreatment to his person, [*nor*] any money or writing being extorted from or given by him. *Complaints*

Surat, 2nd February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14) 1759
At a Consultation.

The Chief informs the Board of the intentions of the Hon'ble President and Council of Bombay to endeavour to fix Faris Khan in the Darbar, in consequence of the solicitations of Sidi Jafar and Wali-ullah with others of Faris Khan's party represented to them [*the Bombay Government*] by the Chief; or at least, if that was found impossible, to make him Naib to Achind and to procure the Castle and tankha for our Hon'ble Masters; for which purpose proper preparations were making at Bombay, which may be shortly expected at the Bar. The Chief, therefore, acquainted the Board that he calls this meeting to consult on proper measures for leaving the town, lest the Government might be prompted to seize our persons in order thereby to frustrate their designs at Bombay, as the news of the preparations there have given no small umbrage to the Government here. It is agreed that the Gentlemen severally repair in the afternoon to the garden-house, and from thence withdraw themselves to the vessels at the Bar in the manner that shall be found most convenient. *Attack on Surat* *Leaving the town*

Protecting the factory At the same time the Chief acquaints the Board that the Hon'ble Company's cash, excepting a small balance that Mr. Erskine necessarily must want, is already conveyed in a private manner on board the Bombay Grab; and an exact inventory of the Hon'ble Company's effects, left in the Factory under the charge of Mr. Erskine, is laid before the Board. It is also agreed to leave in the Factory the usual number of sepoys and the Factory detachment of military under the command of ensign Walsh, who cheerfully acquiesces in being left in the place to preserve it from the insults of a mob; for we do not apprehend that either Achind or the Sidi will attempt to plunder the Factory, or maltreat those we leave in it.

1759 *Surat, 2nd February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14)*
John Spencer to Miah Achind.[1]

Achind informed The many acts of violence and oppression, that the English and their dependants in general have laboured under for a considerable time past, without any prospect of being able to procure satisfaction by all the moderation hitherto shown by them, have at length induced the General and Council of Bombay to seek redress by force of arms, the only means that seems now to be left them, seeing that the Hon'ble Company's privileges are not only continually violated in point of commerce, but these injuries have even reached the persons and lives of our dependants without the least redress being obtained, and indeed in the present distracted situation of the management of the affairs of this city there does not appear an other prospect of re-establishing affairs than by the method now pursued by the Hon'ble Governor and Council.

Dangers of war This method it has long been in the power of the English to pursue, but from motions of humanity, being themselves a nation famous in the world for its encouragement of merchants in general, they were willing to try every gentle method to prevent involving the city and the inhabitants in general in the calamities of war, which must now be the case, unless you and they use your heartiest endeavours and interpose in such manner as to procure us the satisfaction the Governor and Council, assisted by His Majesty's forces, are determined to seek for.

Plain language As you have all along expressed a desire to contribute as far as was in your power to give a currency to our affairs, and have constantly laid every oppressive act or impediment we have met with since your coming into power at the door of the Sidi Ahmad Khan, and expressed a desire to go hand in hand with us, it occasions my addressing you in this particular manner and on this important occasion that you may regulate your conduct in such manner towards us and our designs as may not destroy the regard the Hon'ble Company have long had for Your House;[2] which will not be the case, unless you choose to draw it on

1 This letter and those immediately following were not meant for immediate delivery; they remained with Erskine to be handed over to the addressees when the opportune moment should offer. It was the Chief's policy to leave Miah Achind and the others in suspension as regards the real intentions of the English. Erskine was instructed "to deliver them [*the letters*] in such a manner as may be found most convenient; for at present it will not be necessary to place our retiring to the Bar to the account of the expedition intended, but to our apprehensions of insults" (1758—59, *S. F.* 14, 2nd February, 1769).

2 It was at that time the intention of the Bombay Government to deprive Miah Achind of the nawabship of Surat; and the Chief was well aware of this.

yourself; it will, therefore, be well that you on your part send a trusty man on your behalf to confer with me, to whom I will open my mind as to our intent more particularly than I choose to do here.

Surat, 2nd February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14) 1759
John Spencer to Appajirao, Madhavrao, the Maratha agents.[1]

Maratha interests respected

The Hon'ble Governor and Council of Bombay having been obliged to take the measures they are now pursuing to re-establish the Hon'ble Company's affairs on a lasting footing here, I take the opportunity to apprise you of it and to let you know that by these means the just pretensions of the Marathas to a part of the revenues of this city are not intended to be prejudiced. What need I add more but that I shall be glad to confer with you on this occasion?

Surat, 2nd February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14) 1759
The Chief to the principal officers and inhabitants of Surat.

A just war

You yourselves having been [*witnesses*] of the many hardships the English have laboured under for a considerable time past and of the affronts put upon them in obstructing the business and seizing on the persons of their dependants from time to time, I need not enter into the minute particulars of them. Merely out of compassion to this city and its inhabitants the English have hitherto forborne using the means that it has pleased God to put into their hands to procure redress and ample satisfaction; but this forbearance, instead of having the good effect wished for, has induced evil-minded people to proceed so far as to attack even the very lives of our dependants, for which our repeated remonstrances have been ineffectual to procure satisfaction; on the contrary such insults have been offered us even since my arrival, who came up disposed to put everything as far as possible on an amicable footing. But on the present divided footing the Government is on, I see no prospect of security to the English or yourselves in lives or property, as the inhabitants daily to their cost experience, one or other being so frequently sacrificed to the avarice or caprice of particulars without control. An authority so abusive, God, who is just, will not permit to be lasting. At last the measure of our forbearance is filled up, and we rely on His assistance to our cause, it being so just a one, as not only to endeavour to seek redress to ourselves, but lasting tranquillity to you all, which we are determined to procure by the assistance of His Majesty's fleet and troops now with us. The Governor and Council rely also and expect your hearty concurrence to this salutary end, as they do not propose injuring any of you in person, privilege or property, but to preserve the Mogul authority and government in the city as heretofore. But, as I have acquainted Saïd Abdullah Solroos more fully of our intentions to you in full assembly, I doubt not of your pursuing such wise measures as will tend to the lasting tranquillity of the city and your own good, which are so closely connected with the success of our endeavours, that one must be the consequence of the other

I am fully authorised and hereby assure you that no one individual is intended to be injured by us in any shape, unless such individual

1 The agents of Balaji Bajirao and of Damaji.

draws his misfortune on his own head by adhering to the party of our opponent.

What need I add more on a subject so interesting to you and calculated so much for the benefit of this city in general?

1759 *Surat, 2nd February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14)*

Leaving the town This afternoon the Chief and the rest of the Gentlemen, excepting Mr. Erskine, repaired to the garden in consequence of the resolution of the Council, without any interruption, but were soon after joined by Nasserwan and Edul Dada, who came with a complaint of an insult to them by some sepoys of the Sidi's in the public service, who had attempted to *A useful pretext* wound them and their attendants. The Chief thereupon sent our jamadar to make proper representation of the insult to the Darbar, and we made use of this affair as the thing that carried us to the Bar,[1] from whence we should not return till proper satisfaction was given us and security that our affairs should go on with more currency than of late.

Accordingly the Chief, etc. together with the contractors left the garden in the Company's and Bombay Grab's pinnaces before sunset and got on board the Grab at the Bar late at night; and Mr. Erskine had previous directions, as soon as he was certain of our departure, to apprise those under our protection to use the proper means for their *Letter to M. Achind* security by retiring to the Factory or where they chose. From Dumas the Chief wrote Mr. Erskine to apprise Achind of the motives for our leaving the place, and that proper security given might induce us to return as soon as answers were received from Bombay.

1759 *Bombay Grab in Surat Road, 2nd February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14)*
The Chief at Surat to Miah Achind.

Unselfish aims I send this to Mr. Erskine to be translated and forwarded to you, having no Persian writer at hand. It is to account for our leaving the place yesterday, which was not intended,[1] but to prevent the ill consequences that might result to us from the foolish stories raised up in the place to our prejudice and fomented by ill-disposed people, tending to make a misunderstanding between us, as if we were preparing to ruin you and the place. This I know to be the furthest from the intentions of the English, who, as a mercantile nation, will always endeavour to avert such a fate from such a trading city as Surat has been, and that their design is to preserve the inhabitants in their privileges and property; and you know that nothing but your own proceedings can ever bring *Hostages* on ruin to your House in particular, especially as so large a part of your family is at this day treated at Bombay with so much respect as they are; which, I dare say, you will not cause to be lessened by any violence or disturbance to Mr. Erskine, who is left in the Factory, to our factories themselves, or any of our dependants. You know that agreeable to *Pretext for leaving the town* your and the Sidi's desire I was preparing to give you both a meeting, and had left it to you to determine the day between yourselves; but what was I to think of your hostile preparations on all sides, and the repeated messages and informations I received that chaukis were to be placed on our factories and persons, with a mistaken view of thinking by such

1 The Chief carried out this subterfuge to the very end, as may be seen from the subsequent letters.

a step to influence any measures the Governor and Council of Bombay might think proper to take? And even when I went to the gardens last night, some of our dependants were in the open street set upon by some sepoys with their drawn swords and insulted in the open day, as would appear by representations that I caused to be made to you on the occasion. But after such an insult, and till we can be secured from future ones by some satisfactory means, I cannot think of returning to the place, till I receive such satisfaction or further orders from the Governor and Council of Bombay. In the meantime I shall commit no manner of hostility at your Bar of any kind. I should be glad to have a trusty person from you, with whom I could confer; or you may let me know through Mr. Erskine what security you can give us in case of our return to free us from personal insult; and then I shall determine accordingly; and let me advise you to act in such manner as may tend to preserve the friendship with you; and indeed we should not much doubt of your inclinations to us, was you invested with the authority [*as*] a Governor of Surat ought to be. As Mr. Erskine has some necessaries to send me and the rest of the Gentlemen, if you expect to have your Bar kept open, you will permit of entire liberty thereto and to our affairs in general. *Peaceful intentions*

Bombay Grab in Surat Road, 3rd February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14) 1759
Letter to Sidi Ahmad.

I have already by a letter now sent to Mr. Erskine desired him to explain to you the motives of our leaving the town; and if you are desirous of our peaceable return, you will cause such security to be given us against future insults, and redress for those we have already suffered, as shall be to our entire satisfaction. I am sorry that after I had agreed to the visit you was so desirous of (only leaving it to you and the Nawab to settle the days proper) that such hostile preparations were so industriously carried on, and such daily reports spread to our prejudice on account of preparations said to be making at Bombay, on account of which I had repeated information that chaukis were intended to be put on our factories. This would have been a strange step, and what we could in no shape give ear to, only from the repeated violences that have for some time past been committed against us without redress. Our meeting might possibly have put these affairs on a proper footing; but, as on the way to our garden our dependants were yesterday publicly insulted in the streets by people belonging to the Castle, as you will know from a representation I caused to be made last night at the Darbar, this fresh insult, added to the reports of the ill designs against us and the hostile preparations making by you, has determined me to retire to the Bar, till I can be assured of our returning to the town with reputation to ourselves and affairs, which I doubt not you will use proper methods to procure us. We shall not commit any hostility at the Bar or interrupt the trade of the place at all, unless you compel us to it; for, as I have represented these affairs to Bombay, I shall wait orders from thence for my proceedings, unless Achind in the meantime puts things regarding us on a footing entirely to our satisfaction. Having left Mr. Erskine in charge of the Factory and effects, we expect no fresh disgust is given either to him or any belonging to us. We have no hostile attempt in view to prejudice the city or inhabitants, whose rights and privileges we

Pretext for leaving the town

Peaceful intention

have always and shall be rather ready to maintain as far as in us lies. You will act in such a manner as shall not increase the difference between us by giving entire currency to our business and affairs in general.

1759 *Bombay Grab in Surat Road, 4th February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14)*

Hostages Arrived at the Bar from Bombay the Hibernia, Captain John Blackford, with that part of Achind's family that had been left at Bombay; but, as the Hon'ble Governor and Council did not know we were actually retired from the town when they sent them, and that we should leave a Gentleman in the Factory during the course of the expedition, the family was kept on board, and Mr. Erskine advised of it, that he might acquaint Achind in a proper manner; and that, as things were circumstanced, it would be necessary to detain the whole or at least some of the family to be answerable for the security of Mr. Erskine's person and our Factory and effects.

Achind put off The Chief this day received advice from Mr. Erskine that, at the request of Achind, the Modi had been sent to him. That Achind expressed his concern that he was so little confided in that our departure was not hinted to him; that he himself had little reason to be satisfied with the Sidi, and that he [*Achind*] was ready to enter into engagements with us; only he desired to be satisfied what we could promise on his own behalf; that he [*Erskine*] had waved discussing these points, advising Achind he was not authorised to answer them; but that he would send either Achind's letter to the Chief, or any message he had to send.

1759 *Bombay Grab in Surat Road, 6th February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14)*

Achind's anxiety This day at noon received from Mr. Erskine a letter of the 5th, chiefly advising of Achind's uneasiness about his family and of his intentions of sending people to them.

Hostages By the return of Achind's message the Chief wrote to Mr. Erskine to acquaint Miah Achind that his family should be treated with the greatest respect, and that he [*the Chief*] should not be averse to part with the women and children and some of the others, but that some of the principals must stay till our affairs were adjusted.

1759 *Bombay Grab in Surat Road, 7th February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14)*

Hostages A nephew of Achind's, named Mir Mossum, being one of the family on the Hibernia, came this day on board the Grab to the Chief, who explained to him the situation of affairs in town and the reasons of their detention, and gave him hopes of its not being of long duration, but that it must a good deal depend on the part Achind acted, to whom he was permitted to send a messenger, and he went away well satisfied.

1759 *Bombay Grab in Surat Road, 8th February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14)*

Achind's anxiety Mr. Erskine advises that Achind is very uneasy at the detention of his family, and that Mir Kutb-ud-din, the Nawab's eldest son, sends a trusty man and requests the women and children may be sent him, as they suffer by the detention; and he will answer with his life that no insult shall happen to the Factory.

Chief's promise In the evening the Chief wrote Mr. Erskine to apprise Achind he would oblige him as far as he possibly could in regard to his family and in other respects, as he would know on return of the messengers.

Bombay Grab in Surat Road, 9th February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14) 1759

Achind and the Sidi put off

This day the agents from Achind and the Sidi met with the Chief on the Grab, to whom he set forth the insults we had received from time to time; that the Chief had hopes on his arrival that he should have had opportunities of setting matters right; instead of which, fresh insults had been offered; and that, therefore, finding so little prospect of living with any degree of credit, we had been obliged to take this step of retiring to the Bar; and that we had advised our Superiors of our having done it and should soon receive their orders; and that, if in the meantime they could give us sufficient satisfaction for what had passed and security for the future, it is possible we might return as soon as we heard from Bombay. They assured the Chief there would not be the least room for complaint in future; and for what was passed, especially in respect to the murder of our people, they would cut off any two men we would pitch on as the perpetrators of that act; that they would dismiss the people that insulted Edul Dada, and in short would give us every satisfaction we could desire. The Chief urged then their making hostile preparations round our Factory and the Sidi's securing the boats, so that we could not get water, etc. from the town, and assured them that, if this was not put a stop to, he would directly stop the Bar and distress the town all he could; otherwise he would wait quietly till he heard from Bombay; and that, as they now know part of his complaints, it would behove them to return to town and see them removed as speedily as possible; which being done in a manner satisfactory to him, he might on his receiving answers from Bombay possibly return to town, but not till then. This they seemed satisfied with, and it served our purpose of gaining time, and so not alarming them too much previous to our fleet's coming; and as Achind's family on board the Hibernia are several of them, especially the women and children, ill of fevers, and some of them have the small pox, and the loss of any of them might exasperate Achind so much as to throw him entirely into the hands of the Sidi, and besides throw reflections on us, the agent of Achind was told that the women and children should go with him to town, and in short all the family, but Mir Mossum, whom he should choose to keep with him; and insinuated privately to Achind's messenger that our regard to him and his family induced us to take this step; and we have hopes that this measure will detach him entirely from the Sidi.

Offers of peace

The Chief's policy

Ailing hostages

The messengers in the afternoon went on board the Hibernia in order to proceed to town to-morrow with Achind's family.

Bombay Grab in Surat Road, 9th February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14) 1759
Letter from Surat.

Disquieting news

The Chief received a letter from Mr. Erskine of this date, advising that it is talked in town that the Sidi and Marathas, through the means of Muncher, are about to enter into a league to divide the revenues of the place between them and act in conjunction to exclude Achind and oppose our measures.

Bombay Grab in Surat Road, 10th February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14) 1759

The Chief's diplomacy

The Chief wrote Mr. Erskine, acquainting him with the light he had put things in to the messengers; and that he had plac[illegible] our re[illegible]

principally to the late insults to us, and not to anything we had in view, about which he had not opened himself at all to them, nor should, till our vessels were actually arrived; noticed to him the Bombay advices and his fear that the springs would be lost; that the Chief gave the agents hopes of our return, if everything was made agreeable to Mr. Erskine and us here, as soon as we had our answers from Bombay.

1759 *Bombay Grab in Surat Road, 11th February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14)*

The fleet delayed The Fox and Squirrel Ketches returned from their station off St. John without having seen anything of the fleet expected from Bombay. However, that no time night be lost, the vessels now at the Bar are ordered to be lightened in such a manner as to be ready to go over the Bar at an hour's warning.

Damaji and the Sidi Various reports having prevailed that Damaji's agent, this way, by name Khanderao, was tampering with the Sidi, and a message coming from Appaji, the agent of Nana in Surat, with a letter to the same purpose, the Chief wrote them both as follows, and directed Jagannath to write in his own name to Khanderao, with whom he is closely connected and has some influence.

Achind's anxiety The Chief received sundry letters from Mr. Erskine under the 9th, 10th and this date, advising of Achind's uneasiness at first on account of his family and of his satisfaction at last on their being released; that he (Achind) gave hints how easy it would be for us to carry what he judges we have in view, did we but join him; when we, without, and he, within, could soon effect everything; but, as we cannot assure him certainly of the part we propose acting by him, it will be better to keep him in suspense as long as we can, lest he is thrown thereby into the arms of the Sidi. Achind will at all events secure the Factory from insult.

1759 *Bombay Grab in Surat Road, 11th February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14)*
John Spencer to Khanderao.

To Khanderao, the agent of Damaji in Surat.

Words of warning After arriving here I have not received any letter from you, which I wonder at, as correspondence keeps up friendship, and yours will always be agreeable to me. From Surat I learn that you have intentions of assisting our enemy, and that your inclinations are that way; which is also confirmed to me by those of Nana's fleet at the Bar; which much surprises me, that, being our friend, you should act such a part, whereas true friendship should prompt you to act otherwise. It has pleased God that between Nana, the subahdar (his master) and us there is not the least difference; and our friendship should prompt us to assist one another; therefore it occasions you this trouble that you may attend to this and not assist our enemy; for by such assistance you will incur the displeasure of Nana and the subahdar, and your interest in the concerns you have in the city will have an end put to them. It is the part of one friend to advise another of anything that may be productive of ill to him. I for that reason thus advise you of all particulars. By declining to assist our enemy, what you are justly entitled to, will be continued without diminution. What is really in your heart communicate to me as a friend, which is the way to convince of your friendship to us.

Bombay Grab in Surat Road, 11th February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14) 1759
John Spencer to Appajipant.

Diplomatic letter

I received your friendly letter and observed its contents, and Nathurama has informed me of everything; but I cannot give ear to such things; nor is it proper for me to reply to them. I have communicated everything to Nathu, who will inform you. As there is not the least difference between us and Nana, you will act as a friend in all things, that I may notice it to Nana, who will show you favour accordingly. Let me have your further reply to this, when you shall hear further from me. Jagannath sends his compliments to you, has received your letter and replies to it by Nathurama, who will communicate everything to you.

Bombay Grab in Surat Road, 12th February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14) 1759

Friendly enemies

This morning the Chief received letters from Achind and the Sidi, accompanying boats with cattle and sundry other refreshments for our use at the Bar. They notice that a person will be shortly sent down with their resolves in consequence of the Chief's representation by their messengers, and they strenuously invite him to return and assure him that everything shall be satisfactory to him.

The Chief also received advice on the 11th from Mr. Erskine that the messengers, first sent him, had been with him to convince him that no hindrance had been put to the boats we wanted, or preparations made against the Factory; that they are consulting to send the Nawab's eldest son to invite the Chief ashore, and that Chellabi will return to the Bar the 12th.

Diplomacy

The Chief wrote Mr. Erskine at noon, advising him to manage so as to put off Mir Kutb-ud-din's (the Nawab's eldest son) visit, if it is really intended, as it may bring on an explanation sooner than we intend; that the Chief will write complaisant letters in reply to both Achind and the Sidi, but will not be definitive with either of them.

Protracted suspense

By the return of the Government's people the Chief wrote to the Sidi and Achind letters as mentioned to Mr. Erskine, chiefly calculated to keep both parties in suspense, and indeed at present they seem to be lulled into an entire security.

Letter from Bombay

In the evening the Tiger Schooner returned from Bombay, by which [*we*] received the following letter from the Hon'ble President and Council of Bombay and duplicate of their advices by the fleet, which is not yet arrived.

Bombay forces sent

This is dispatched by an express boat purposely to advise you that such a marine and military force as can possibly be spared from the Island will proceed this evening to the Bar with Faris Khan, in order to fix him in Surat, conformable to the instructions which have been given the Chief by the Select Committee, and concerning which we shall acquaint you fully by our vessels. Bombay Castle, 8th February, 1758.

Preparations

At 8 at night the Chief apprised Mr. Erskine of the advices from Bombay, that he might inform our partisans to keep up their spirits and to assure them that no time should be lost; and for that purpose we were preparing to enter the river; authorised him to entertain more sepoys, as the number from Bombay was less than expected.

1759 *Bombay Grab in Surat Road, 13th February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14)*

Erskine informed

This afternoon, the Grab Fox, Squirrel, etc. vessels sailed from the Bar, and got into Dumas, from whence the Chief apprised Mr. Erskine of his proceedings.

1759 *Bombay Grab in Surat Road, 14th February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14)*

Alarm in Surat

Mr. Erskine advises that Achind sent to the Modi, and by him sent Mr. Erskine word that the Sidi threw on him, Achind, the blame of our proceedings; and that, therefore, he waved sending Kutb-ud-din, his eldest son, lest it should add to the Sidi's suspicions of him, though he complained he had received as yet nothing satisfactory from us regarding himself; that his inclination was towards us, and he would join us on proper assurances, and at all events was desirous of remaining neuter; but that he understood that we were bringing up Faris Khan to introduce him into the government; that, therefore, the world would think him idle to remain an idle spectator and see his government wrested from him; and that he expected a writing under the Company's seal should be given him, when he would most readily and willingly join us; that the report of the fleet's arrival had alarmed them in town and caused the Sidi to reinforce his bunder and the Athwa Gate, and draw his other people to his own house and the Castle; that by the best account he can get the Sidi has got about 2,000 men in all his places. He encloses a letter from Achind much to the same purport as his message; he adds the Sidi has mounted some guns at his bunder, but has not yet seized our gardens.

The Chief's policy of evasion

The Chief wrote Mr. Erskine an answer to the above, acquainted him we were getting the Grab, etc. into the Toddy Bank channel, but that both the wind and springs failed us; however that we persevered; mentioned the arrival of one of the fleet at the Bar; that he would desire Achind to have patience a few days, till we had orders from Bombay, when the Chief would be clear with him; to assure him we wished him well and, therefore, advised him to be quiet; and to insinuate also as of himself that our force was such as rendered it necessary to be careful in what manner he acted; for it was not very material to us which side he chose further than as the Chief wished, for his own sake, it would be ours; that as soon as our people were at hand, the Chief would answer his letter; desired Mr. Erskine, if Faris Khan was actually coming up, as Achind said, to know of him, on what footing the Nawab would introduce him into town.

1759 *Bombay Grab in Surat Road, 15th February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14) Bombay to Surat.*

Fleet

Arrived at the Bar the fleet from Bombay.

Faris Khan

Agreeable to what we have advised you by an express boat, we now dispatch such a marine and military force with Faris Khan to the Bar, (where we conclude all of you but one are retired to) as we hope, with the assistance of his party in Surat, will quickly enable you to fix him in the Darbar and to take possession of the Castle and tankha for our Hon'ble Masters, or at least to get him appointed Naib to Miah Achind, agreeable to the proposals which have been made by his friends through the Chief to the Select Committee, as circumstances may permit on the arrival of our forces. But considering on the ill treatment we have for a

A unique occasion

long time received from the Government of Surat and the Sidi in particular, as well as the favourable prospect of establishing our Hon'ble Masters' affairs on a good footing at this juncture, from our being enabled to send all our marine force with eight hundred regulars and fifteen hundred sepoys, exclusive of His Majesty's detachment of artillery, on account of the squadron under Vice Admiral Pocock being at this Presidency, and having likewise great reason to think we shall have the countenance of some of the men-of-war at the Bar, we rely on your exerting yourselves in the most vigorous manner for reaping the advantage of the present happy juncture for getting possession of the Castle and tankha for our Hon'ble Masters and fixing Faris Khan in the Darbar. But, in case you have just grounds for thinking you cannot succeed therein, we would then have you use your interest for his being appointed Naib to Achind, and putting our Hon'ble Masters' affairs on the best footing in your power, doing your utmost to get everything settled, that you may return our forces by the time Admiral Pocock leaves this place, which, we conclude, will be about the beginning of next month; and for your fuller information regarding our connection with Faris Khan, we enclose you a copy of the treaty concluded with him in March last.

Conciliating the Marathas

The President has wrote the Nana we should take care to preserve his just rights in the revenues of Surat; [*we*] therefore flatter ourselves you will not meet with any impediment from the Marathas; but, should it prove otherwise, we leave it to you to conduct yourselves towards them in the best manner you can, observing carefully to avoid giving them any just cause for being disgusted at our undertaking.

Blockade suggested

We think it necessary that you should at all events stop the communication of the river with the town to everybody as a means of promoting our success; and should the Dutch make any objection to it, you may acquaint them in particular that it is no more than what they did a few years since at Benjar; and we hope they will not interfere in our designs; but, should you have reason to think they do, we refer it to you to oppose them in such manner as you judge fit.

In command of the troops

We have conferred the command of our military forces on Captain Richard Maitland, who has readily agreed to act in general under the directions of the Chief. We make no doubt all disputes will be avoided; especially you must observe that what relates to his command in his military capacity only will of course rest with him. In case of accident to Captain Maitland, the next King's captain will of course be entitled to the command; and having constituted Captain William Lane provisional commandant of all the infantry belonging to this establishment, we enclose his commission in order for your delivering it to him. Captain John Watson, in obedience to our Hon'ble Masters' commands lately received, has the charge of our marine forces; and for your observation a copy of his and Captain Maitland's instructions are enclosed.

Provisions

Other appointments

Six weeks' provisions are embarked for the regular troops, and three months' for the sepoys, and a sufficient quantity of warlike stores, for the particulars of which we refer you to Lieutenant Edward Turner, whom we have appointed commissary, and Mr. Hewson his deputy, who must be supplied with what money they want for the service; and you are to appoint a paymaster to pay the Hon'ble Company's troops such part

of their pay as may be necessary, also them and the King's detachment their allowance of field batta, conformable to the list in the packet.

The Revd. Mr. John Howell is invested with a proper authority for acting as judge and advocate, should there be occasion, and Captain Louis Felix Du Gloss with a commission as engineer.

Gratuity to troops As you will observe the forces serving on the expedition are to have a gratuity of two lakhs of Rupees, in case of their succeeding in getting possession of the Castle and tankha for the Hon'ble Company and fixing Faris Khan in the Darbar; which is to be raised on the inhabitants to exempt them from plunder or any other violence or irregularity. We don't doubt your care to prevent everything of that sort, and in case of there being any offenders, deliver them to Captains Maitland or Watson, for being punished as their crimes may deserve.

A tax On your getting possession of the Castle, we would have you immediately to clear a proper area round it, let the houses or buildings belong to whom they will, signifying to the owners that they shall be reimbursed by a tax to be levied on the inhabitants in general.

Agreement with Faris Khan contracted and agreed between the Hon'ble Richard Bourchier, Esqr. in behalf of the Hon'ble English East India Company on one part, and Faris Khan on the other, this 12th day of March, 1758.

Clauses of treaty 1st. That the Hon'ble Company's troops and marine forces shall put Faris Khan in possession of the government of the city of Surat by fixing him in the Darbar and supporting him in the same.

2nd. That the Hon'ble Company shall possess the Castle of Surat, with all its immunities and emoluments, the tankha, etc. whatever the Sidi is now possessed [*of*] in Surat and its dependencies.

3rd. That Faris Khan shall pay the whole expense of the expedition, for which he binds the phurja or custom-house for security of payment.

4th. That the sum of Rupees two lakhs shall be made good and paid to the commanders and private peoples, both military and marine, that they may not plunder nor commit any irregularities; which sum is to be made good to him, by a vera[1] laid upon the city, merchants, shroffs, etc. inhabitants.

5th. That the Water Gate, called Mulla Khadki,[2] shall at all times be possessed by the English without molestation from the Government's officers or sepoys, and that the two gates, one of the inward wall and one of the outward wall next to the English garden, shall always be free for the English to come into and go out of at all times without any molestation.

6th. That the Hon'ble Company shall enjoy all the privileges of the Mogul's royal firman, as amply as they ever enjoyed them, without any molestation from any of the Government's officers either to their own trade or any under their protection.

1 Vera: tax, *Whitworth.*

2 Mulla Khadki or lati gate, one of the twelve gates of the inner wall (*Gaz. Bomb. Pres.* II, 308).

7thly and lastly. This contract and agreement is not intended in any shape to prejudice the immunities nor indulgences granted by the Mogul to any other Europeans, nor to prejudice the Marathas in whatever contracts or agreements are in force between them and the Government of Surat; but that Faris Khan shall be obliged to pay them their stipulated one-third of the revenues of Surat, as has been done for some years past.

Counterpart of this engagement is signed, sealed and exchanged the day above-mentioned between the contracting parties, the Hon'ble Richard Bourchier, Esqr. and Faris Khan. *Maratha claims*

Bombay Grab in Surat Road, 15th February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14) 1759

The Chief received foom Mr. Erskine four letters under the 14th and this date, advising that our losing the springs greatly dispirited our party and made them shy, and that the rumours of our fleet arriving had so far alarmed the Sidi that he was building batteries at his bunder and palisading a part. *Anxiety in Surat*

Bombay Grab in Surat Road, 16th February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14) 1759

The Chief received a letter of this date from Mr. Erskine, advising that the Sidi had not yet seized our garden and seemed cautious of giving the first offence; that he had made a battery of 4 guns at his bunder, and put some guns into Chellabi's garden, and had fixed the chain on the other side the river, ready to bring it over to Chellabi's garden adjoining to ours; that every night they have at the bunder and Athwa Gate about 1,500 of his own and Achind's people; that the Sidi's own family advise him to give up the Castle, in hopes thereby of preserving to him the tankha; that Achind seems at a loss how to act, but declares, however, he will not enter into the Sidi's measures, and hopes to have a favourable answer from the Chief, and that the Saïd and Jafar seem staunch as yet to us. Also in a short letter of the 16th by a man of Achind's with refreshments, he advises of the Sidi's sending an elephant to Nana. *Affairs in Surat*

Bombay Grab in Surat Road, 16th February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14) 1759

The messenger that brought Mr. Erskine's letter and the refreshments from Achind represented to the Chief the distress his Master was in, without provisions, money, or anything to satisfy his troops; that we might be assured he would not act really against us, whatever he might do in appearance. This was recommended strenuously to him, and he was directed to assure Achind that our design was principally against the Sidi, and that, unless he wanted to draw on his own ruin, he had better sit quiet and wait the issue, when everything we could consistently do to oblige him, we would; but that, however, he might do as he pleased, as we had force sufficient to accomplish whatever we might have in view. *Warning to Achind*

Bombay Grab in Surat Road, 17th February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14) 1759

The Chief received this day two letters from Mr. Erskine; one of the 16th and one of the 17th instant, advising of the Sidi's preparing another battery at the upper part of his bunder of 4 guns, and that the Sidi presses him for a clear answer as to our views. *Policy of evasion*

Wrote Mr. Erskine in reply that, on all future applications from the Sidi or any one else, to refer them to the Chief, who was now come so *Offering 20,000 Rs*

near; [he] advised him of what had passed with Achind's messenger and of our own proceedings, that he might assure our party we were losing no time; mentioned to him as soon as we were landed, he should have orders to deliver the circular letters[1] and instructed him to try if Sidi Hilal could not now be managed in respect to the Castle, to whom he was authorised to promise the full sum of 20,000 Rupees, but no advance beforehand, that however, Hilal should [not] have any written security for the performance of our agreement.

1759 Troops landed *Bombay Chief to Secret Rand., 28th February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 10)*

All the troops were landed at Dentilavli[2] this day and encamped there.

1759 *Bombay Chief to Secret Rand., 28th February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 10)*
Naroji to John Spencer.

Damaji and the Sidi — I wrote you a letter before by one of your people, but know not whether it has come to hand. I hear Damaji's Khanderao is to send 2000 horse and 2000 foot to the assistance of the Sidi, but am not yet certain of the truth of it; when I am, I shall inform you. I hope you will let me know how affairs go on; and if I can be any assistance to you, I am ready whenever you please to command me.

1759 *Bombay Chief to Secret Rand., 28th February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 10)*
John Spencer to Naroji.

Spencer's reply — I received your letter advising of Khanderao's intentions of assisting the Sidi and making a tender of your services; which letter shows so much your friendship and goodwill to us as has greatly obliged me. As Nana's interest, you know, will be kept in a good manner at Surat by our means, [you] may signify the same in such manner to Khanderao as may make him cautious how he acts. If he chooses to be against us, it is well. I hope the force we have will enable us to perform our business against all opposers. But this is as God pleases.

1759 *Bombay Chief to Secret Rand., 28th February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 10)*
A message from Khanderao.

Damaji neutral — The Chief had a messenger from Khanderao, Damaji's brother in command of the Marathas in these parts belonging to Damaji, to assure him that, whatever reports he might hear, they would act in no shape contrary to our inclinations or interest, and only hoped that the rights in the place should be kept up; which was promised, and assured that a strict neutrality on Damaji's part would be the most effectual way to preserve his rights.

1759 *Surat, 28th February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 12)*

The Sidi and Achind — The Sidi went to the Durbar and had a long conference with Achind, taxing him with being privy and accessory to our measures; that he could not confide in him and must have one of his sons and people at the head, if not in the Castle; that she would fight so they had but one enemy.

1 See letters of 23rd February, 1759, addressed to Nana and other chiefs on the occasion of the Chief's departure for Surat.

2 Dentilavli [illegible] Gaz. Bom. Pres. II 188.

Achind protested and swore he knew not, nor was accessary to our designs, making the usual excuses about his want of money, the large arrears due to his people, etc., assuring him that he would never side with his enemies, but at the same time declined sending any of his sons to the bunder, where, he said, he would rather go himself than send any of them. Achind, I suppose, at last proposed calling a general council of the merchants, and sending deputies from them to you to make up the affair, as the town would be ruined if the Mocha ships lost their season. *A meeting*

This assembly was accordingly called in the evening, and about 7, the Nawab's arisbegee,[1] Saīd Abdullah's munshi, and Girderlal's and Laldas's came to me, as deputed from the merchants, to ask the reason of your leaving the place, etc., etc.; that, as such a large force of ours was come into the river and daily approaching, it behoved them to take care of the city, part of the wall of which being within our gardens, they must send people there to guard; but [*they*] desired I would first remove any effects, etc. that were there, that, if anything was lost, they might not afterwards be blamed. I told them I had no power to give any answer or enter into any discussion on the subject, you having after your departure only wrote me to remain in, and take care of, the Factory; that as to the gardens, I could not remove anything, and they might do as they pleased; but, as you had yet committed no hostility, they would do well to consider whether this would not be looked on as one. They said it was true you had not committed any open hostility, but what were they to judge from so large a force hourly approaching, which might enter the town without committing any hostility, if not opposed; and that they could not be blamed for taking care of the town on the approach of so large an armed force, when they knew not what was intended. *A question* *Erskine's reply* *Merchants' complaint*

This morning I received your letter by Achind's people, the translating of which into Persian has nonplussed me a good deal, as it is in effect prevaricating; and the Modi tells me he is certain Achind will never enter into any agreement for anything less than the government; and exclusive of that, you may give Faris Khan what you please. I have wrote him a pretty full letter, but ambiguous, and can hardly guess how he will act. I have mentioned the delivery of the gates in the letter, which I shall seal with the Company's seal, it being in your name. I am doubtful he may side with the Abyssinian, but cannot be certain; only I think I am certain, whether he does or not, his sons will not let him enter into negotiations to hold any place under Faris Khan. *Prevarication* *Faris Khan's mind*

Surat, 19th February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14) 1759
Conference with the deputies sent from town.

The deputies' errand was to little more purpose than to know what we really wanted and to make a proposal for the Sidi possessing our garden; to which last and his stopping our jamadars much disgust was shown by the Chief; but, as it is yet unnecessary to explain what we have in view to them, they were told to assure the merchants in general that what we had in view would not hurt them, but be for their benefit, and that out of regard to them we had hitherto forborne violence; but that, if our garden was seized on, we should look on it as a commence- *Evasions and threats*

1 Agent.

ment of hostilities and stop the trade of the place directly, and seize Chellabi's ships at the Bar, which they were desired to acquaint all concerned with; that, as the Chief was to act in concert with the officers of His Majesty's fleet and forces, he would acquaint them [*the officers*] with the message, and after consulting them, acquaint the town with his resolve. To the Saïd's man, one of them, the Chief was in private more explicit; and this will serve to keep all parties in suspense, till we are ready to commence our operations with effect.

1759 *Surat, 19th February, 1758 (1759-59, S. F. 14)*

Troops advance At a council of war it was resolved this evening that the camp should remove to-morrow morning just beyond Umra, a more convenient place than the present for the people, and proper also for covering the vessels in passing those shoals.

1759 *Bombay Grab in Surat Road, 20th February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14)*

Offers of help The Chief had this day a meeting with the Diwan of Naropant, who acquainted the Chief that a large body of men under one Jeswantrao was coming this way at the desire of the President, and [*the Diwan*] desired to know where they should join us. The Chief waved the offer in as easy terms as he could, telling him, till he had proper orders from the President, he could not accept assistance.

1759 *Surat, 20th February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14)*

Troops advance This morning early the troops moved from the camp at Dentilauri, intending to proceed to the ground just above Umra; but about 9 o'clock the Chief received notice from Captain Maitland by Captain Pemble that, having fixed on a more proper place near the Dutch gardens at Athwa, he proposed moving thither, as that camp would serve for all purposes to cover their approaches to the town; and at the same time notice coming from Captain Watson that the provision boats could not pass Umra in time for the people's victuals, the Chief directed every vessel in the river to dress what they could, and send it to the camp for the day;

A skirmish and while he was on the river, a great firing being heard, and a report brought that our people were engaged, he went directly to them and found they had marched the whole body to reconnoitre the walls near Majura Gate; which had occasioned the town to fire on them; and our people returned [*the fire*] with the howitzers and field-pieces; but, as it would answer no purpose to expose the people, no attack having been intended or preparations made for it, they were marched off to the camp, as was first proposed; we had one sepoy wounded in this approach to the walls.

1759 *Surat, 22nd February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14)*

Affairs in Surat Received letters from Mr. Erskine of the 21st instant, advising that the Factory continued to be surrounded, and that the Sidi had complained of his engaging sepoys in the Factory; that they were mounting guns at our gardens in a line along the river, and that there is a prospect of Achind's joining the Sidi; that he thinks we have nothing for it now but mere force; and that the sooner that is used the better; that he has sent

1 Probably Dumas.

for people to deliver the circular letters to, and that those to the Maratha Pandits are already delivered.[1]

Surat, 23rd February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14) 1759

Achind's man, who was sent into town to know why the former man had not returned, came back again, and promises that he will act the part we wish him to do and not join the Sidi, and hopes he shall be satisfied by the Chief as to the part we will act by himself and family. He is detained with us some time, and sent with a message couched in general terms, but without coming to particulars. *Achind's request*

Bombay Grab in Surat Road, 23rd February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14) 1759
Message from Damaji's agent.

This day a messenger came to the Chief from Madhavrao, Damaji's agent, who assures him, in answer to the circular letters to him and Appaji, that they will not take any step to prejudice our affairs; which the Chief advised them to persist in, as a contrary conduct would put a stop to the rights they have in Surat, which otherwise we had no interest to prejudice. *Damaji neutral*

Surat, 24th February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14) 1759

This day the army moved to Athwa and encamped near to the river just by the Dutch gardens, a place proper for supporting the batteries proposed to be erected against the city-walls; and it was agreed that on the morrow very early our troops should dislodge the Sidi's people from the French gardens in order to erect batteries there against the place, it being very proper for that purpose, with a proper hollow way to cover the troops that were to support the batteries in case of a sally from the enemy, and the small bomb-vessels being at hand were to support them. *Operations against Surat*

Surat, 26th February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14) 1759

This morning early our people marched up and took possession of the French gardens and have been employed in erecting batteries there. *French garden*

Surat, 27th February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14) 1759

Received this morning from Mr. Erskine two letters of yesterday's date; one advising of a sally the Sidi proposed making on our troops; that the delivery of the circular letters[2] has caused a good deal of noise in town, and that the Sidi was endeavouring to get certificates from the merchants, expressing their satisfaction at his conduct, but that the Chellabis, Saïds had declined signing them; he imagines our partisans will not show themselves till we are got within the outward walls. *Situation in Surat*

Surat, 27th February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14) 1759
The Chief to Sidi Hilal.

As you bear the character in the world of a wise man, it is the reason that without reserve I address myself to you. You must be sensible *Threats and offers*

1 See letters of the 2nd February, 1759, addressed to Miah Achind and others on the occasion of the Chief's departure from Surat.

2 The letters left by the Chief with Mr. Erskine, when the English Chief and Factors left the town. See letters, dated Surat 2nd February, 1759.

that it is the inattention of the sons of Sidi Masud that has compelled us to act in the manner we are preparing to do; and unless people of your prudence interpose, the Sidi's name may entirely go away, as nothing supports it at Underi or Rajapur but our good offices. Our batteries and bombs being now ready to operate with effect, I give you this warning, that you may take your option of these two alternatives; if you do not choose to deliver the Castle up to us directly, you will shortly by our bombs be buried under its ruins with your garrison and effects, or be blown up in the air and fall a sacrifice; but, if you deliver up the Castle and stores in it to us, you shall have your property and effects secured to you, and your garrison their arrears of pay made good to them, and employment in our troops, and you yourself shall have my firm promise to be employed in such manner as shall be most agreeable to you at Bombay or this place, and as a mark of the whole Company's friendship and esteem you shall be paid the sum of ten thousand (10,000) Rupees,[1] which sum may perhaps be augmented, if you show yourself ready to serve us, you are sensible and have often expressed it that the indiscretion of Sidi Masud's family would ruin the Sidi's name. It is true the whole place is ready to act against them, and you and the Sidi's name will go away in this city, unless you by your prudent and instantaneous resolves in our favour preserve our friendship, which is the only way to preserve the Sidi's name. You know the Castle the Sidi has no right to; it is a usurpation, and was productive of terrible consequence to the place. *Ultimatum* If we have not your answer to this in two hours, operations will be commenced; and then the friendly sums I now offer will not be in our power.

1759 *Surat, 29th February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14)*

Attack on Surat This day the engineer employed in erecting the battery, and the people [*employed this day*] in landing two of the 24 pounder guns, with the thirteen inch mortar; all which were mounted. Two six pounders were brought and played from the battery to silence that of the Sidi's, and at ten in the evening the 13 inch mortar played on the Castle. During these two days several of the cotton bales used at the battery to cover our people have taken fire.

1759 *Surat, 28th February, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14)*

Attack on Surat This morning the 24 pounders being mounted on the battery played very briskly on the outward wall and battery of the enemy in our garden, and towards noon Captain Funge with a subaltern and about 60 men went through the French gardens, on a report of a practicable breach being made, to observe it and try if the place could be entered; but they were so warmly received by the enemy, who galled them so much from their loopholes, that they were obliged to retreat.

1759 *Surat, 1st March, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14)*

F. Khan's party Very early this morning the Chief sent Mr. Erskine notice of the attack and desired him to spirit up the partisans of Faris Khan to exert themselves, and last night Faris Khan sent in a man for this purpose.

---

1 See *Gazetteer Bombay Presidency*, II, 126, note.

Agreeable to the plan of yesterday, the vessels weighed before day, and moored close to the chain in their proper stations, and began firing on the enemy with great resolution and bravery, which was warmly returned by them, and at the same time the batteries flanked the enemy very briskly; between 7 and 8 the signal was made for the troops to put off, which was done with great alertness and resolution under the conduct of Captain William Lane. They landed and drove the enemy from their bunder batteries and Chellabi's and our gardens, and took possession of the outward wall to the Athwa Gate, which we set open, the whole of the Sidi's having retired to the inner town. *Outer gate captured*

Surat, 1st March, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14) 1759

A place being fixed on for erecting a battery against the inner wall, the old battery is ordered to be removed thither, but our people being a good deal fatigued with this morning's work, some respite is necessary for them. *Battery erected*

None of the partisans of Faris Khan have shown themselves as might have been expected on this occasion; but Miah Achind sent out a person of his to congratulate the Chief on his success, to assure him of his attachment to the Company in all respects, and offering a gate if we will assure him of the nawabship; but, as we are so far advanced, it is better easily to decline his offer for the present. Mr Erskine writes that the Sidi's people had suffered a good deal the last two days, and many of his principal people deserted him; but he was endeavouring to keep up their spirits by paying them their arrears of pay. In his last letter he says that both the Sidi's and Achind's Diwans are, according to advice sent him, gone out to tamper with the body of Marathas and, it's said, offer them half the revenues to assist them in driving out the English; but the calling in the Marathas would be a step so disagreeable to the town that they had sent to the Portuguese Director to become a mediator; but he refused, unless the first step on their side would be to deliver up the Castle. *Achind's offer* *Situation in Surat* *Marathas to help*

At night the Chief wrote Mr. Erskine in substance as follows: that, if Faris Khan's partisans will secure the Majura Gate and be there with a proper force themselves to join us, it would be well; for that, if they do not exert themselves now to the purpose, agreeable to their engagements, they may overset our business and oblige us to pursue measures that may not be agreeable to our inclinations; that therefore, if they want Faris Khan, they must exert themselves; that Achind had offered the Chief a gate, though he is at the same time tampering with the Marathas, who have no longer ago than this afternoon been offering us their service; that the Chief is advised from good authority these people have Nana's orders not to obstruct us in any shape, but that there is no trusting to such fellows, but that at best they are arrant poltroons, so that no harm can happen from them; however they are played off. *F. Khan's chances*

Between 11 and 12 at night Wali-ullah came out privately to meet the Chief on the part of Sidi Jafar. When the Chief desired to know why they had shown so little attention to our or Faris Khan's interest, he remonstrated that all the women of the family of the late Teg Bakh[illegible] and Safdar Khan had of late so attached themselves to Achind and [illegible] *[illegible]*

sons that both he and Jafar were now desirous only of Faris Khan's coming in as Naib to Achind, but not as Nawab; but that in that they would join heart and hand. As this was a thing so foreign to their first declarations, and this man is of a very indifferent character, the Chief only expressed his surprise at what passed, and desired him to explain to Sidi Jafar his astonishment at such procedure, to tell him that the force we had was sufficient to answer the purposes they were first desirous of; that we should soon be ready to act with effect; and, therefore, desired him to return to Sidi Jafar and acquaint the Chief to-morrow night with the result; that their honour was engaged to Faris Khan, whom the Chief would acquaint in the morning with what has passed.

1759 *Surat, 1st March, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14)*

Offers of help The Diwan of Naropant, in command of the fleet at the Bar, and Jeswantrao and Krishnajipant, in command of the forces adjacent to Surat, came this afternoon chiefly to see what was doing, and to endeavour to prevail on the Chief to admit them as partners. But this was waved in an easy manner; and complaisant letters wrote them, had cautioned them not to think of advancing towards the place; for our people would certainly fire on any body of men that came too near them.

F. Khan's party The Chief this day represented in the strongest terms to Faris Khan the necessity there was for his partisans to exert themselves, who had hitherto taken very little notice of him or us.

1759 *Surat, 2nd March, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14)*

Offers of help This morning a rumour was spread that a large body of Maratha horse were approaching our first battery, but it only proved a few horsemen from their army with an officer to make a fresh tender of their services, which was repeatedly urged by them and as repeatedly declined by us, it neither being for our interest nor the interest of the place, which they would certainly plunder, if once admitted.

F. Khan not wanted as Nawab Late at night Wali-ullah came, agreeable to appointment, and confirmed to the Chief that Jafar himself, and those of Faris Khan's partisans who invited him up, were rather desirous of seeing him Naib and the nawabship in Achind's family; and when the Chief urged how little satisfactory it could be to Faris Khan, after the hopes they and his party had given him, he urged that the government could better be carried on for the good of the town this way; and all, any way attached to the families of the former Governors, were very desirous of having it so, and that Faris Khan should be Naib in its full extent.

1759 *Surat, 3rd March, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14)*

F. Khan's party This morning received two letters from Mr. Erskine, chiefly complaining of the want of warmth in Faris Khan's friends.

But our proceedings must in a good measure depend on the issue of Faris Khan's endeavours, who has hopes of a gate being opened this night; and if that miscarries, it is resolved to act in the best manner we can for the Company and put him in as Naib to Achind.

F. Khan's proposal The Chief had then a meeting with Faris Khan, whose agents had concerted with Maulji, the sepoy-officer in the Company's pay within

the town, to open the gate at midnight, which is nearest to the place where our troops are; but he can give no assurance what more people would join in our favour, as Sidi Jafar and Wali-ullah, in whom he had placed his greatest hopes, had much deceived him. The Chief told him he would propose the thing to the officers directly.

Council of war

The Chief then went to the garden-house, where a council of war was held, and where the whole was laid before the officers that composed it, who were of opinion that with our force it would be imprudent to accept of the gate offered, unless they could be assured of a stronger party in favour of Faris Khan than he seemed to have.

Change of plan

The Chief informs the Board that finding the friends of Faris Khan, notwithstanding the hope they had given him, made not the least effort in his behalf, even now that we have been two days in possession of the Sidi's bunder and part of the outward town, but even signified to him (the Chief) that through the instances of the women of Safdar Khan's family, they rather wished Faris Khan to be Naib, and that the nawabship should be continued in the family of Achind, the same is taken into consideration; and weighing well these circumstances, our expense of stores and loss of men by casualties of war and desertion, and that a council of war had declined accepting of a gate of the town that was offered to be opened in the night, as noticed in our diary, agreed that we no longer persist in introducing Faris Khan into the Darbar against the inclinations of his former partisans and the interest of Achind, who in such a case, being united with the Sidi, might possibly prostrate our designs, but that we fix him Naib to Achind, agreeable to the permission in our instructions from the Presidency, and get over Achind to our party by assuring him of the nawabship. The Chief, therefore, proposes the setting on foot a treaty with Miah Achind, obliging him to accept of the articles executed with the noble President and Council of Bombay by Faris Khan, which is unanimously agreed to, and will answer everything to be wished for the interest of our Hon'ble Masters.

Surat, 4th March, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14) 1759

Attack on Surat

Very early this morning word was brought that the Athwa Gate was set open by the people of Maulji; and the Chief ordered Captain Watson to get the seamen and possess themselves of it at all events, and apprise the commanding officer of the military of it, who with the rest of the Gentlemen of the military most readily consented to march thither; but left the gate which was shut before our people got thither, and Maulji joined our troops with near 300 of his sepoys.

Message to Achind

This determined the Chief to set on foot the correspondence proposed with Achind, whose man coming to the gardens very early this morning with assurances of friendship, etc., the Chief told him the first instance of it must be setting open the inner gate, sending Mr. Erskine to us, and accepting of the articles then delivered, or that we should immediately batter the Darbar about his ears. He went in with the propositions; and about ten o'clock Wali-ullah and some other officers of Achind's came out with the treaty executed, as entered here after, and advised us the gate was ready, whenever we chose to enter it, and that the Nawab was ready to join us with his troops, as soon as we entered, or to afford any assistance in his power that we were desirous of, to reduce the Sidi to our terms.

sons that both he and Jafar were now desirous only of Faris Khan's coming in as Naib to Achind, but not as Nawab; but that in that they would join heart and hand. As this was a thing so foreign to their first declarations, and this man is of a very indifferent character, the Chief only expressed his surprise at what passed, and desired him to explain to Sidi Jafar his astonishment at such procedure, to tell him that the force we had was sufficient to answer the purposes they were first desirous of; that we should soon be ready to act with effect; and, therefore, desired him to return to Sidi Jafar and acquaint the Chief to-morrow night with the result; that their honour was engaged to Faris Khan, whom the Chief would acquaint in the morning with what has passed.

1759 *Surat, 1st March, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14)*

Offers of help The Diwan of Naropant, in command of the fleet at the Bar, and Jeswantrao and Krishnajipant, in command of the forces adjacent to Surat, came this afternoon chiefly to see what was doing, and to endeavour to prevail on the Chief to admit them as partners. But this was waved in an easy manner; and complaisant letters wrote them, had cautioned them not to think of advancing towards the place; for our people would certainly fire on any body of men that came too near them.

F. Khan's party The Chief this day represented in the strongest terms to Faris Khan the necessity there was for his partisans to exert themselves, who had hitherto taken very little notice of him or us.

1759 *Surat, 2nd March, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14)*

Offers of help This morning a rumour was spread that a large body of Maratha horse were approaching our first battery, but it only proved a few horsemen from their army with an officer to make a fresh tender of their services, which was repeatedly urged by them and as repeatedly declined by us, it neither being for our interest nor the interest of the place, which they would certainly plunder, if once admitted.

F. Khan not wanted as Nawab Late at night Wali-ullah came, agreeable to appointment, and confirmed to the Chief that Jafar himself, and those of Faris Khan's partisans who invited him up, were rather desirous of seeing him Naib and the nawabship in Achind's family; and when the Chief urged how little satisfactory it could be to Faris Khan, after the hopes they and his party had given him, he urged that the government could better be carried on for the good of the town this way; and all, any way attached to the families of the former Governors, were very desirous of having it so, and that Faris Khan should be Naib in its full extent.

1759 *Surat, 3rd March, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14)*

F. Khan's party This morning received two letters from Mr. Erskine, chiefly complaining of the want of warmth in Faris Khan's friends.

But our proceedings must in a good measure depend on the issue of Faris Khan's endeavours, who has hopes of a gate being opened this night; and if that miscarries, it is resolved to act in the best manner we can for the Company and put him in as Naib to Achind.

F. Khan's proposal The Chief had then a meeting with Faris Khan, whose agents had concerted with Maulji, the sepoy-officer in the Company's pay within

the town, to open the gate at midnight, which is nearest to the place where our troops are; but he can give no assurance what more people would join in our favour, as Sidi Jafar and Wali-ullah, in whom he had placed his greatest hopes, had much deceived him. The Chief told him he would propose the thing to the officers directly.

Council of war

The Chief then went to the garden-house, where a council of war was held, and where the whole was laid before the officers that composed it, who were of opinion that with our force it would be imprudent to accept of the gate offered, unless they could be assured of a stronger party in favour of Faris Khan than he seemed to have.

Change of plan

The Chief informs the Board that finding the friends of Faris Khan, notwithstanding the hope they had given him, made not the least effort in his behalf, even now that we have been two days in possession of the Sidi's bunder and part of the outward town, but even signified to him (the Chief) that through the instances of the women of Safdar Khan's family, they rather wished Faris Khan to be Naib, and that the nawabship should be continued in the family of Achind, the same is taken into consideration; and weighing well these circumstances, our expense of stores and loss of men by casualties of war and desertion, and that a council of war had declined accepting of a gate of the town that was offered to be opened in the night, as noticed in our diary, agreed that we no longer persist in introducing Faris Khan into the Darbar against the inclinations of his former partisans and the interest of Achind, who in such a case, being united with the Sidi, might possibly prostrate our designs, but that we fix him Naib to Achind, agreeable to the permission in our instructions from the Presidency, and get over Achind to our party by assuring him of the nawabship. The Chief, therefore, proposes the setting on foot a treaty with Miah Achind, obliging him to accept of the articles executed with the noble President and Council of Bombay by Faris Khan, which is unanimously agreed to, and will answer everything to be wished for the interest of our Hon'ble Masters.

Surat, 4th March, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14) 1759

Attack on Surat

Very early this morning word was brought that the Athwa Gate was set open by the people of Maulji; and the Chief ordered Captain Watson to get the seamen and possess themselves of it at all events, and apprise the commanding officer of the military of it, who with the rest of the Gentlemen of the military most readily consented to march thither; but left the gate which was shut before our people got thither, and Maulji joined our troops with near 300 of his sepoys.

Message to Achind

This determined the Chief to set on foot the correspondence proposed with Achind, whose man coming to the gardens very early this morning with assurances of friendship, etc., the Chief told him the first instance of it must be setting open the inner gate, sending Mr. Erskine to us, and accepting of the articles then delivered, or that we should immediately batter the Darbar about his ears. He went in with the propositions; and about ten o'clock Wali-ullah and some other officers of Achind's came out with the treaty executed, as entered here after, and advised us the gate was ready, whenever we chose to enter it, and that the Nawab was ready to join us with his troops, as soon as we entered, or to afford any assistance in his power that we were desirous of, to reduce the Sidi to our terms.

Treaty with Miah Achind.

Articles of treaty

Articles.	*Wrote by the Nawab over each article.*
1st. That Faris Khan shall be appointed to the office of Naib in its greatest extent, as in the time of Safdar Khan and nobody but himself shall interfere in the said post.	1st. Agreeable to this article I fully consent to Faris Khan's appointment.
2nd. That whatever articles Faris Khan has given in writing or promised to the Hon'ble Company (the particulars of which cannot be drawn out at present and must be deferred till we can meet) shall be fully complied with, without the least diminution.	2nd. Whatever Faris Khan has wrote or promised to do for the Hon'ble Company, I will stand to without the least alteration.
3rd. That the Makai[1] Gate shall be opened, our troops admitted, and that we shall join our forces to drive our enemies out of town.	3rd. The Makai Gate shall be opened, your troops admitted and joined by mine to drive out the enemy.
4th. The above articles a person in your behalf demanded; all which I agree to and will comply with; and the Government shall be continued to me in full authority, and to the above I have put my own seal, and Mir Kutb-ud-din will sign and seal the same, after which you must send a counterpart of this writing with the noble Company's seal affixed.	4th. Agreed to, and that we shall act jointly in moving our enemies out of town. Wrote by Kutb-ud-din: Whatever the Hon'ble Company have demanded I agree to.

1759 *Surat, 4th March, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14)*

Entering the town

The gates being opened accordingly, our troops marched in and took possession of the inner gate and then, marching by the Darbar, went through Castle Green, and surrounded the Sidi's house and quarters.

Terms to Sidi

When our people were marched into town, there came the messengers, mentioned last night to the Chief at the gardens with a letter from the Sidi, throwing himself in a good degree on our mercy. However the Sidi, etc. hoped for some stipulations in his favour; but, as the discussing these points and referring backwards and forwards would have lost much time, and the Chief hearing at the same time of the people being wounded as above, he went into town to settle everything on the spot as soon as possible, and in the end a paper was given the Sidi under the Hon'ble Company's seal, declaring that he must immediately deliver up the Castle with all the stores and everything else in it, and likewise the fleet and the stores, bunder, etc. appertaining to it and the tankha; that he should discharge his people their arrears as speedily as possible out of his own effects and pay all just demands on him; and that in such

1 The map of Surat in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency gives the Makai Bridge. The Gazetteer speaks of the Mecca gate (*Gaz. Bom. Pres.* II, 301,127).

case his house, gardens and personal effects should be preserved to him in such manner as the Saïd and principal people should think proper. This negotiation and planting the proper guards took up till sun-set, some time after which Muhammad Yakut's munshi come out with orders *Terms* to Sidi Hilal to deliver up the Castle to us, and about 7 o'clock at night *accepted* he marched out with his garrison, being between 5 and 600 men, besides artificers, having assurances they should be permitted to take away their own proper necessaries the next morning; and both Sidi Ahmad Khan and Sidi Hilal put themselves under our protection to secure them from the insults of their enemies in the place; and about eight o'clock our people marched in and took possession of the Castle; and at 10 the guards were taken off from the Sidi's quarters, and the remains of his people separated, and everything remained in the utmost tranquillity, our Factory, lati, or our dependants not having suffered anything during the whole course of the troubles, and our people on entering the city, not being guilty of any irregularity, or molesting the inhabitants in any shape.

Surat, 5th March, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14) 1759

At sunrise His Britannic Majesty's colours were hoisted on the *Victory* vessels in the river, and this morning the Chief made his entry into town and went to the Factory from the gardens, accompanied by the Nawab's sons and the principal officers and inhabitants of the place.

Surat, 8th March, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14) 1758

The body of Marathas that have so long hovered about the town *Maratha* have this day impeded provisions in the out-parts coming to this place, *claims* on pretence of extraordinary promises made them by Achind and the Sidi at the time they were tampering to act in concert with us: they applied to the Chief; but, as they pretended not to have any claims in respect to us, it will be more prudent that we keep clear of the affair otherwise than by our good offices and leave Achind to settle with them as he best can, though he denies having made any promise to them. They do not impede anything of ours, however the Chief sent an express to Bombay to procure their removal by an order from their superiors.

Surat, 22nd March, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14) 1759

This day the Marathas took off the impediments put on provisions, *Maratha* etc. coming into town, in consequence of orders procured from the Hon'ble *conces-* President, and they have nearly adjusted their dispute with Achind. *sions*

Surat, 27th March, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14) 1759

This day the Government settled everything with the body of the *Marathas* Marathas near the town. They are preparing to march inland. The *depart* Chief had from time to time several meetings with their agents, but did not interfere in their affairs otherwise than by good offices; and at their going away presents of shawls were made to the principals; which is an expense that could not be avoided on this particular occasion.

1759 *Surat, 6th June, 1759 (1758-59, S. F. 14)*
Extract of accounts.

Presents Presented on the Maratha officers' visit to the Factory, on making up affairs as noticed in our advices to the Presidency:

Jaswantrao Pawar	2	shawls, 1 kincob	205
Krishnarao	2	,, ,,	195
Naropant	2	,, ,,	191
Appajirao	2	,, ,,	161
Master of the fleet	2	,, ,,	115
Gopaljipant	2	,, ,,	110
Damodarpant	2	,, ,,	105
Bakshi of the Pawar	1	,,	50
Kedarjirao	2	,, ,,	201
Ramachandra Daji	2	,,	107
		Rs.	1,440

1759 *Surat, 8th September, 1787 (1787, S. & P. D. 36)*
John Griffith to Rawson Hart Boddam.
Origin of Surat chauth levied by Marathas.

Surat chauth It appears that Ali Nawaz Khan and Miah Achind, the Nawabs who succeeded Safdar Khan, regularly paid to the Peshwa and the Gaikwad one-third of the revenues (which amounted annually to between sixty and seventy thousand Rupees) until 1759, when the Hon'ble Company took possession of the Castle; since which time the revenues of Surat have been divided equally between them, the Nawab and the Marathas.[1]

No. 10 DAMAJI AND THE SECOND ENGLISH EMBASSY TO POONA (1759)

THE extracts under this heading are taken from *Selections from the Letters, Despatches, and other State Papers Preserved in the Bombay Secretariat, Maratha Series,* vol. I, by George W. Forrest, Bombay. They are here reprinted because they are relatively short and may help the student to gain a more comprehensive knowledge of Damaji; for they give us an insight into the real feelings of the man who exteriorly identified himself with the Peshwa's policy.

DOCUMENTS

Bombay, 19th August, 1759 (*Poona Embassy,* 172)
President and Council's instructions to William Andrew Price on the occasion of the English Embassy to the Marathas in 1759. 1759

We are also very credibly informed that he [*Balaji Bajirao*] has given orders to Damaji to prepare for going against Surat when the rains are over: As we expect you will meet Damaji at Poona, we would have you take an opportunity of intimating that we are willing to enter into an agreement with him, that his vessels may no longer continue to annoy our trade; and if he makes any reasonable proposals, acquaint us therewith; but, should he decline it, you are to declare to him that we shall take satisfaction for the depredations he has committed. *Offers to Damaji*

Poona, 7th October, 1759 (*Poona Embassy,* 172)
Extract from the Diary written by William Andrew Price, English Ambassador to Poona in 1759. 1759

In a letter received this day from the President he enclosed one from Mr. Erskine to me, setting forth the difficulties the Chief and Factors of Surat meet with in collecting the revenues annexed to the Castle, which lay in the parganas or districts under the command of Nana and Damaji, desiring I would use my endeavours to get them removed, and such orders issued as may prevent our meeting with any impediments in collecting our just dues in future. *Damaji's share in revenue*

Parganas or districts which pay a revenue to the Castle of Surat and for supporting the fleet:

	Rs.
To the Castle:	
Anklesvar pargana, under the command of Nana, the yearly income of about	12,000
Temba pargana, under the command of Damaji, the yearly income of about	8,000
Variav kasbah, under the command of Damaji, the yearly income of about	8,000
Vissow and Couchud villages, under the command of Damaji, the yearly income of about	2,000
	30,000
For supporting the fleet:	
Balesar pargana, under the command of Damaji, the yearly income of about	24,000
	54,000

1759 *Poona, 8th October, 1759 (Poona Embassy, 172)*

Extract from the Diary written by William Andrew Price, English Ambassador to Poona in 1759.

Interview with Damaji

Sent to acquaint Damaji that, if he was at leisure, I would do myself the pleasure of waiting upon him. He acquainted me he should be glad to see me to-morrow.

Waited upon Damaji, who received me in a friendly manner. After some discourse I represented to him the depredations the officers of his fleet had made upon our trade at different times, which I was willing to believe was without his orders, and therefore hoped he would issue directions to prevent the like happening in future. I likewise observed to him that, as the Hon'ble Company had taken possession of Surat Castle, there were some revenues annexed to it and for maintaining the fleet, which lay in the country under his command, concerning which I desired he would issue orders for our people collecting them as heretofore without obstruction; and as we were now become neighbours and interested in the welfare of the country about Surat, we hoped he would concur in such methods as would tend to our mutual advantage, and that our friendship might daily increase. He desired I would send him a list of the parganas, and he would give an answer thereto and also in regard to the fleet. I then took my leave. Sent Damaji a list of the parganas near Surat under his command, which pay an annual revenue to the Castle and for supporting the fleet.

1759 *Poona, 15th October, 1759.*

Extract from the Diary written by William Andrew Price, English Ambassador to Poona in 1759.

Damaji agrees

Damaji sent me the orders I requested him for the parganas or districts under his command, paying the usual revenue to Surat Castle and for supporting the fleet; likewise an order to the commanding officer of his own fleet not to molest any vessels trading under the Hon'ble Company's protection.

No. 11 MIAH ACHIND AND THE MARATHAS (1760-1761)

IN this contest between Miah Achind and the Marathas the English were considerably inconvenienced by having their trade constantly interfered with.

DOCUMENTS

Surat, 15th January, 1760 (1759-61, S. F. 15) 1760
Marathas and Miah Achind.

The Marathas here having some disputes with Miah Achind, the Governor[1] quitted the town and stopped all merchandise, grain, etc. from coming into it. *Trouble at Surat*

Surat, 17th January, 1760 (1759-61, S. F. 15) 1760
Khanderao to the Chief at Surat.

The Chief received a letter from Khanderáo, acquainting him that, on account of the Maratha disputes with the Nawab, money had been demanded from the patels and desais of Temba pargana (or district) in the same manner as the rest. But that he (the Chief) might rest assured that in a few days matters would be settled to his satisfaction. *Hopeful message*

Surat, 25th January, 1760 (1759-61, S. F. 15) 1760
Marathas and Miah Achind.

The Chief received a letter from Balajipant, the Maratha chauthia, informing him that, Achind having injured them in the revenues and other respects, this had obliged him to leave the town and put a stop to merchandise, etc. coming into it. *Letters interchanged*

The Chief wrote an answer to the foregoing, acquainting Balajipant that his quitting the town without previously advising him was not consistent with the good friendship subsisting between his master and the English. That nevertheless he (the Chief) was ready to mediate any difference between the Marathas and Achind, and for this purpose desired Balaji to send some proper people into town.

Surat, 27th January, 1760 (1759-61, S. F. 15) 1760
English goods stopped.

Advice being brought that the Marathas had stopped some carts [illegible] that were coming to town with piece-goods and indigo belonging to the English, wrote to Balajipant to release them. [illegible]

---

1 From a subsequent entry (see Surat Factory Diary, 26th January [illegible]) Governor here stands for the Maratha chauthia, Balajipant.

1760 *Surat, 28th January, 1760 (1759-61, S. F. 15)*
English goods released.

Goods released Received a letter from Balajipant with an order for the releasement of our goods.

1760 *Surat, 1st February, 1760 (1759-61, S. F. 15)*
English goods stopped.

Goods stopped Some of the Hon'ble Company's piece-goods coming from Broach and Jambusar being stopped by the Marathas, sent a letter to the commanding officer to release them.

1760 *Surat, 3rd February, 1760 (1759-61, S. F. 15)*
English goods released.

Goods released Received a letter from Balajirami, informing the Chief that he had ordered the Hon'ble Company's goods to be released, and as Achind was indebted to him and had infringed their privileges in the city, hoped the Chief would use the proper means for settling affairs.

1760 *Surat, 4th February, 1760 (1759-61, S. F. 15)*
Agreement with Marathas.

Agreement The Marathas stopping our goods coming into town, subjecting us to many inconveniences, and one of their people being still in town, the Chief sent for him this morning, when it was agreed that all goods provided with English certificates should pass unmolested.

1760 *Surat, 5th February, 1760 (1759-61, S. F. 15)*
Jagannath sent to Marathas.

A peace move Miah Achind having applied to the Chief, desiring Jagannath may be sent to the Marathas, and as it may be a means of facilitating an accommodation, he was dispatched with a letter to the Maratha officer, and directions given him for using his endeavours to bring two of their principals into town.

1760 *Surat, 8th February, 1760 (1759-61, S. F. 15)*
Jagannath returns.

Hope of peace Jagannath returned into town and with him two of the Marathas' principal officers.

1760 *Surat, 10th February, 1760 (1759-61, S. F. 15)*
Maratha claims.

Maratha claims rejected The Maratha officers above-mentioned waited upon the Chief, desiring his mediation in their disputes with Miah Achind; but their demands being very unreasonable, insisting upon one-third of the revenues without reserve or exemption, and that their people should sit at all the several places where it was collected, the Chief informed them that, although he was very ready to adjust their disputes, yet as the Hon'ble Company were now become masters of the Castle and interested in the welfare of the city and its revenues, he would not consent to the Marathas receiving any more than usual, or being honoured with new privileges; and even if Achind consented to it, the English would oppose it. They then took their leave.

Surat, 14th February, 1760 (1759-61, S. F. 15) 1760
Maratha claims.

Letter to Bombay

The Marathas apprising the Chief that they cannot any longer admit of the English goods coming into town, and as this will lay us under great inconveniences, more especially with respect to their freight on our Hon'ble Masters' ship Harcourt, resolved to dispatch the following address to the Hon'ble the President and Council.

Extract from letter.

Preposterous claims

We must beg leave to observe to Your Honour, etc. that we have repeatedly offered our mediation to accommodate matters; but their demands are so exorbitant that we cannot with any decency or reason desire the Nawab to consent to them; for considering the encroaching temper of these people, if one point is complied with, it will be immediately followed by another; and in the end the town will be ruined. We cannot positively say whether they have any orders from Nana for proceeding in this manner, but rather think to the contrary, and that their behaviour is more owing to the avaricious temper of the farmer who wants to make the most of his rent and at the same time ingratiate himself with his Master; but from whatever cause it may arise, we greatly fear it will prevent the merchants from providing their goods in proper time for the ship's departure.

Awaiting orders

In this situation of affairs we desire Your Honour, &ca's directions in what manner we are to act. There are now a number of loaded carts within six miles of the town. If you approve of it, we could join the Nawab and bring them away by force; but, if this method is not thought eligible, we shall readily put in execution any orders you may please to furnish us with, though we beg leave to give it as our opinion that this being the first time the Marathas have stopped the town since our being in possession of the Castle and interested in the government of the place, some resentment being shown at this time may prevent our labouring under the like embarrassment in future.

P.S. The Marathas demand one-third of the revenues of the town, which in some respects was never allowed of.

Surat, 23rd February, 1760 (1759-61, S. F. 15) 1760
Miah Achind and the Marathas.

Achind's proposals

The Chief received a message from Achind, informing him that the Maratha agents were very pressing to go out of town, and that, if something was not concluded upon, it must be expected that they would put a total stop to business and straiten the place more than ever, they having been put to an expense in bringing their troops from abroad. That the circumstances of his affairs did not admit of coming to a rupture with the Marathas, being in large arrears to his sepoys, who, he was apprehensive, might in such ticklish times revolt. Therefore he proposed with the Chief's approbation to compromise matters with the Marathas by giving them a sum out of his private purse, but desired it might be kept secret, at least for some time, lest the knowledge thereof might prejudice his affairs. The Chief endeavoured to persuade him from coming to a conclusion until answers were received to our address to the Hon'ble the President and Council, when we might act in [illegible]

very pressing to terminate matters, and considering all circumstances both with respect to his troops, the situation of which will not admit of any new imposts, and our own business especially with respect to the Harcourt, the Chief consented to Achind terminating matters as he proposed.

Letters to Bombay This evening Achind sending the Chief word he had finished affairs with the Marathas, dispatched the following address to the Hon'ble the President and Council as follows:

Matters arranged We addressed Your Honour, etc. the 17th instant, and that of the 14th will show you the impediments we then laboured under from the Marathas impeding our goods from coming into town; which we judged would retard the dispatch of our Hon'ble Masters' ship Harcourt, but we have the pleasure to inform you that all hindrances are now taken off, and we hope to be able to send her in a very proper time.

1760 *Surat, 27th February, 1759 (1759-61, S. F. 15)*
Bombay orders.

Warlike advice As you represent that you labour under great impediments in lading the Harcourt's freight for Mocha from the Marathas having positively informed you that they cannot admit of the goods, intended for her, passing into town, till they have settled their affairs with the Government, we dispatch this per pattemar express to direct that you send proper people, to acquaint the Marathas that you are ready to mediate any difference between them and the Government, and to declare to them that you cannot allow of their stopping any of the Hon'ble Company's goods; and if they should persist therein, you are to order a sufficient force in conjunction with the Government's troops to escort them into town, and to oppose any who may attempt to impede them.

1760 *Surat, 28th February, 1760 (1759-61, S. F. 15)*
Instructions to Captain Daniel Inchbird in command of the Fox Ketch.

Damaji and the Kolis Having received advices that some troops belonging to Damaji are gone against Sultanpur, which had obliged the inhabitants with their families and effects to retire to their boats to the Bar, you are, therefore, directed, wind and weather permitting, to weigh anchor in company of the Tanka Grab, Squirrel, Badger, Hawk, Lively's prize, Swallow and Fly Gallivats to proceed off that place, when you are to take, sink, burn or destroy all vessels you shall find there.

Instructions to Captain Henry William Bally.

Having come to a resolution of sending the Hon'ble Company's cruisers to Sultanpur to endeavour the destruction of the Koli boats, which we are informed are laying at the Bar with most of their effects, on account of their country being invaded by some troops belonging to Damaji, we have accordingly ordered a detachment of military, artillery and sepoys to be embarked on the several vessels employed on this service, and thought proper to appoint you to the command thereof. You are to repair on board the Fox, Captain Daniel Inchbird, whom you are to aid and assist with such people as he may want.

has sent several times to demand them, they refuse to deliver them up; it is, therefore, resolved to send a party of sepoys to bring them away, unless the Marathas agree to pay their full value.

1761 *Bombay, 4th April, 1761 (1761, P. D. Let. to Court of Dir. 8)*
Bombay to the Court of Directors.

Damaji's ship Your servants at Surat having seized a gallivat belonging to Damaji, which drove ashore at Suvali in November last, Khanderao, who is his agent, applied for her release; when the President acquainted him he would consent thereto, if he would make satisfaction for our vessels taken by the boats belonging to Bilimora and be security for their peaceable behaviour in future; but no answer being returned, and the superintendent having reported that she would make a good cruiser, when repaired, we on the 3rd February condemned her and ordered her to be refitted on Your Honours' account.